

CAMBRIDGE GREEK AND LATIN CLASSICS

SENECA

APOCOLOCYNTOSIS

EDITED BY P.T. EDEN

CAMBRIDGE GREEK AND LATIN CLASSICS

GENERAL EDITORS

E. J. KENNEY

Emeritus Kennedy Professor of Latin, University of Cambridge

AND

P. E. EASTERLING

Professor of Greek, University College London

SENECA
APOCOLOCYNTOSIS

EDITED BY
P.T. EDEN
University of London



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE
The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK
40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain
Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa
<http://www.cambridge.org>

© Cambridge University Press 1984

First published 1984

Reprinted 1990, 1993, 1995, 1999, 2002

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

Library of Congress catalogue card number: 83-14344

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Seneca, Lucius Annaeus, ca. 4 B.C.-A.D. 65

Apocolocyntosis. – (Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics)

I. Title II. Eden, P.T.

872'.01 PA6661-A9

ISBN 0 521 24617 2 hardback

ISBN 0 521 28836 3 paperback

CONTENTS

<i>Preface</i>	ix
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xii
Introduction	1
1 <i>The title</i>	1
2 <i>The date of composition</i>	4
3 <i>The author</i>	6
4 <i>The function</i>	8
5 <i>Conclusion to sections 1-4</i>	12
6 <i>Menippean satire and the literary background</i>	13
(A) <i>Menippean satire</i>	13
(B) <i>Lucilius</i>	16
(C) <i>Side-influences</i>	17
7 <i>Testimonia and the transmission of the text</i>	17
(A) <i>Antiquity</i>	17
(B) <i>The Middle Ages and Renaissance</i>	19
(C) <i>The nineteenth and twentieth centuries: scientific criticism</i>	22
8 <i>The manuscripts</i>	23
9 <i>Stemma codicum</i>	25
Sigla and note on orthography	26
 L. ANNAEI SENECAE DIVI CLAVDII	
ΑΠΟΚΟΛΟΚΥΝΤΩΣΙΣ: text and facing translation	27
Commentary	62
Appendix: <i>Claudius and Roman citizenship</i>	152
Bibliographies	156
(A) <i>An alphabetical list of named contributors to the textual criticism of the work</i>	156

(B) <i>Editions, commentaries and studies of the work</i>	158
(C) <i>Claudius and his reign</i>	159
(D) <i>General</i>	160
Indexes	161
(1) <i>Proper names</i>	161
(2) <i>Words and phrases</i>	162
(3) <i>General</i>	164

Bei einem solchen in jedem Wort zugespitzten Meisterwerk soll man nicht ruhen, bis das volle und gesicherte Verständnis jedes Worts erreicht ist.

RICHARD HEINZE, *Hermes* 61 (1926) 49

PREFACE

The text of this edition is based on my own collation of all the manuscripts, and my first thanks are due to all the librarians, too numerous to name individually, who made their resources available to me. Most manuscripts were examined *in situ*, and I was grateful to receive some funds for the travelling involved from the Central Research Fund and the Irwin Fund of the University of London; the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes assisted me in obtaining microfilms or photostats of some of the remainder. In a number of places the text presents grave difficulties, and an obelus, which properly signifies a considered suspension of judgement, might seem to be called for. But skewered nonsense baffles all but the professional scholar, and since he is only one of the categories of reader I had in mind, I have always preferred to print the conjecture which seemed the best available. In such *crucis* and problems of text and interpretation as have defied the ingenuity and acumen of so many scholars for so long, I cannot hope that all of my own suggestions will gain acceptance. I do most cordially invite *any* reader of this book (for perspicacity is not exclusive to any single age-group) to write to me with suggested improvements.

The *apparatus criticus* designedly provides more information than is necessary to recover the archetype. It establishes fully the character and relationship not only of the primary but also of the secondary manuscripts. Should any undiscovered manuscript come to light, it will be the work of minutes, not years, to assign it to its rightful place on the family tree.

Translation is an art sometimes fascinating, often frustrating, always approximative. *Traduttore traditore*. The English version I have provided is intended only to supplement the commentary in helping the reader to understand the meaning and appreciate the flavour of the original, and so to dispense with any translation.

The commentary could easily, though not quite effortlessly, have been three times its present size. But I was delighted to accept the restrictions imposed by this series. It would be wrong to assume that I do not know or value contributions to the study of this work which are not specifically mentioned. Anyone who wishes to find his way through the highways and byways of the relevant scholarship is most ably assisted for

the period 1922 to 1958 by Michael Coffey's review in *Lustrum* 6 for 1961; contributions before and after this period are respectively assessed in Bursian's *Jahresberichte* (notably by Karl Münscher in *Jahresbericht* 192 (1922) for the period 1915 to 1921) and noted with summaries in the volumes of *L'Année Philologique*. The practice of using a commentary to obscure the little that is intended to serve the author by a lot which can serve only his bibliographers is to be deplored. Nor was it my aim to provide an exhaustive collection, but merely an adequate selection, of parallel passages and illustrative material. The temptation to play the historian was more difficult to resist. Some corrective to a work which is a political caricature of a controversial figure would have needed no justification. But I have confined myself to insinuating that the revaluation of Claudius, which began from the discovery of Pap. Lond. 1912 in 1920/1, had by the 1940s turned into dealbation. I hope I have not too often sounded like a renascent Stoic aristocrat or 'an unidentified source with republican and senatorial sympathies' from which, some say, emanated everything which is to Claudius' discredit. In fact he combined some of the least endearing characteristics of two English kings: the historical Henry VI, before he too was white-washed by Tudor propaganda, and James I.

My commentary will be the first on this work to have been written in English and published in the United Kingdom. But my reactions to one or other of three outstanding foreign commentaries published during the last eighty years are in evidence on every other page. A. Perley Ball (New York 1902) brought industrious investigation and independent judgement to his elucidation of the text. Otto Weinreich's vintage *Quellenforschung* (Berlin 1923) casts a flood of light on formative literary influences. C.F. Russo (Florence 1948-65) added valuably to our knowledge of the manuscript tradition and, by applying the increasing number of tools available to modern scholarship, to our appreciation of the text.

I have never understood why the authors of works of more than ephemeral interest or value do not invite the comments of scholars 'competent to judge' before publication rather than wait for themselves and their readers to be rudely disabused by reviewers. I have been exceptionally fortunate in the advice and help, generously given in various ways, of Professor E. Courtney, Professor D.M. Jones, Dr R.G. Mayer and Professor J.A. Richmond, as well as of the General Editors of

this series, Professor E.J. Kenney and Mrs P.E. Easterling, and, in proof-reading, of Mr P.R. Horne.

It would be a grave sin of omission not to express my gratitude for the professionalism of the various members of staff of the Publishing Division of the Cambridge University Press. I must take full responsibility for any errors which may possibly remain. For the work was brought to completion when the University of London was in 'turmoil' (a condition resembling the lifelike spasms induced by uncoordinated stimuli in morbid tissue), and some final touches were added within distracting earshot of the *unbeschäftigtes Lumpenproletariat*.

*Forest Hill,
Oxford
August 1983*

P.T. Eden

ABBREVIATIONS

AE	<i>Année Épigraphique</i>		<i>Lexicon</i> , 9th ed. revised
CAH	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i>		by Sir Henry Stuart
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum</i>		Jones and R.M.
	<i>Latinarum</i>		McKenzie, with
G	<i>Glose in Librum de Ludo</i>		Supplement, Oxford
	<i>Claudii Annei Seneca</i> , ed.		1968
	R.E. Clairmont,	M	F. Marx, <i>C. Lucili</i>
	Chicago 1980		<i>Carminum Reliquiae</i> ,
GL	<i>Grammatici Latini</i> , ed.		Leipzig 1904
	Keil	MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae</i>
GLLM	M. Manitius, <i>Geschichte</i>		<i>Historica</i> , 15 vols.,
	<i>der lateinischen Literatur</i>		1877–1919, repr. 1961
	<i>des Mittelalters</i> , 1911–12	OCD ²	<i>Oxford Classical</i>
ILS	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae</i>		<i>Dictionary</i> , 2nd ed.
	<i>Selectae</i>		Oxford 1970
KS	R. Kühner and C.	OCT	Oxford Classical Texts
	Stegmann, <i>Ausführliche</i>	OGIS	<i>Orientis Graeci</i>
	<i>Grammatik der lateinischen</i>		<i>Inscriptiones Selectae</i>
	<i>Sprache: Satzlehre</i> , 3rd	PIR	<i>Prosopographia Imperii</i>
	ed. Leverkusen 1955		<i>Romani</i>
LHS	M. Leumann, J.B.	PLM	<i>Poetae Latini Minores</i> ,
	Hofmann and A.		ed. Bachrens
	Szantyr, <i>Lateinische</i>	R ²	O. Ribbeck, <i>Scaenicae</i>
	<i>Grammatik: Syntax und</i>		<i>Romanorum Poesis</i>
	<i>Stilistik</i> , 2 vols. Munich		<i>Fragmenta</i> , 2nd ed.
	1960		Leipzig 1871–3
LS	Lewis and Short, <i>A</i>	TLL	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Latinae</i>
	<i>Latin Dictionary</i>	V ³	J. Vahlen, <i>Ennianae</i>
LSJ ^a	H.G. Liddell and R.		<i>Poesis Reliquiae</i> , 3rd ed.
	Scott, <i>Greek–English</i>		Leipzig 1928

NB Periodicals are abbreviated as in Marouzeau's *L'Année Philologique*. For works referred to by author's or editor's name only see the Bibliographies, especially (D).

INTRODUCTION

1. THE TITLE

'Agrippina and Nero pretended to grieve for the man they had murdered, and elevated to heaven him whom they had carried from the banquet on a stretcher. This inspired Lucius Junius Gallio, Seneca's brother, to utter a very witty remark. Seneca himself composed a work (σύγγραμμα) which he entitled "Gourdification" (ἀποκολοκύντωσιν) as though it were some kind of deification (ὡς περ τινα ἀπαθανάτισιν). But his brother is quoted as saying a great deal in the fewest words. For since the public executioners used to drag those who had been put to death in prison to the Forum with large hooks, and to trail them along from there to the river, he remarked "Claudius has been elevated to heaven on a hook".'¹

This passage of Cassius Dio (60.35.2ff.), written more than a century after the events it describes, contains the sole extant occurrence of the word ἀποκολοκύντωσις in antiquity.

The identity of our work with that mentioned by Dio was first asserted by Junius and Curio in the middle of the sixteenth century. It has been generally but not universally accepted. Acceptance has given rise to unending speculation about the meaning and relevance of the title.

κολοκύντη is the general and generic term for a gourd (LSJ⁹ implies that it is confined, if unqualified, to the globular *Cucurbita maxima*). One of the more common Greek nouns with prefix ἀπο- and suffix -ωσις, of those formed from a substantive as opposed to a verb like ἀποβίωω, is ἀποθέωσις, 'deification', which, *per saturam*, is the general subject of the work. The implication of the word-building in this particular formation is 'transformation into' a god. So the title, by substituting -κολοκυντ- for -θε-, is most naturally interpreted to mean 'metamorphosis into a gourd'. It would be philologically unnatural, though seriously proposed, to interpret 'transmutation of a gourd' sc. into a god.

¹The apparently confused order of Dio's statements would be explained if Gallio's witticism in fact referred to his brother's satire: before being thrown into the Tiber, the corpses of executed criminals could be subjected to public abuse (cf. Dio 58.11.5 and Juv. 10.85f.).

There is nowhere any mention of such an event or such a vegetable in the work as we have it, which, apart from the lacuna preceding section 8, is satisfyingly coherent and complete. There cannot have been any elaborated description of such a transformation in the lacuna, whose contents can be plausibly reconstructed in overall terms (cf. 8.1n.), or after the present ending, where it would be bathetic and incongruous. The studied articulation of the work strongly suggests that the ending offered by the reconstructible archetype of the primary manuscripts is the original one, though this, of course, is not proved by the fact that the *subscriptions* of two of them, S and L, follow it without a break (the third, V, lacks an 'Explicit . . .'). It is difficult to see how there could be even a passing allusion to a colocynth, much less a metamorphosis, in the lacuna, and if there were, it could not make this work identifiable from the title 'Apocolocyntosis'.

These considerations have led scholars to assert either that this work is not that referred to by Dio, or that the title must be given an interpretation other than the obvious one. Neither of these views is compelling. That more than one pasquinade of this length on this same subject was written by the same author, or even by different authors, is intrinsically improbable. That a work's title must be descriptive of its contents is manifestly false. The fragmentary nature of the remains of Varro's *Menippea* makes it impossible to demonstrate the falsity in his case, though it is certainly true that if witty titles were thought to need explanation in the work itself, the joke must have fallen very flat. But if the whole of Petronius' novel was of the same general character as the substantial part which survives, could it be identified from the title Σατυρικῶν (sc. *libri*), 'Of the Affairs of Satyrs', alone?

Dio's evidence can safely be accepted as referring to this work. The title is an impromptu *jeu de mots*, intelligible as such to anyone with the analogue ἀποθέωσις in his vocabulary,³ an analogue for which he has been prepared by the title's *Diui* Claudii. It does not identify even

³H. Wagenvoort's conjecture, in *Mnemosyne* 3.1 (1934) 1ff. and 4.11 (1958) 340ff., that the relevant analogue is ἀποραφανιδωσις, has received more attention than it deserves. It denotes the insertion of a horse-radish, for which 'gourd' is thought to be a humorous hyperbole, into the anus, a punishment for adultery in the Greek world. But the word is only once attested, in the scholia on Ar. *Plut.* 168. The practice was not certainly a Roman one. Claudius is not charged with adultery in the course of the work.

ambiguously, but that is not a relevant consideration. Seneca would in any case have had strong personal and political motives for coining the facetiously oblique. The title given by the oldest and best manuscript of the work, *Diui Claudii* ΑΠΟΘΗΟCΙC [sic] ... *per saturam*, is the informatively pedestrian invention of a cataloguer. The other two primary manuscripts give *Ludus de morte Claudii* (*Caesaris*). But '*Ludus de ...*' is not paralleled as an actual title until the Middle Ages, though *ludus* and *ludere*, through hendiadys or some looser contextual influence, do sometimes denote sportive literary activity in Roman Latin.

The title is, however, only fully understandable from the significance of κολοκύντη (= Latin *cucurbita*). On this question harrilation is hectic. The phallic shape of some Cucurbitaceae, the testicular shape of others, and the aqueously mushy contents of the whole genus, have variously been canvassed as the, or a, relevant quality.

It must be stressed that there is no evidence that κολοκύντη and little that *cucurbita* necessarily conveyed an implication of stupidity.³ Hence Coffey (1976) 168 suggests that 'perhaps Seneca chose the pumpkin as the means of ridiculing Claudius' divinity on the grounds that it would be difficult to think of anything more lacking in positive characteristics than a pumpkin'. Yet P. Grimal, *R.E.L.* 32 (1954) 379, believed that its sphericity was such a positive characteristic that it humorously symbolized Claudius' transformation into a Stoic god (cf. 8.1 and note).

Two passages of classical literature are especially, and perhaps exclusively, illuminating. At Petronius 39.12 Trimalchio, explaining the kind of people (animals are only twice referred to, under *bigae* and *boues*) born under each sign of the Zodiac, says in *aquario* [sc. *nascuntur*] *copones et cucurbitae*: under the sign of Aquarius, the Water Carrier, are born innkeepers (who carry water to dilute their wine, often fraudulently), and numskulls (whose heads are as empty as dried gourds, until these are opened and, as commonly, used to carry water or other liquids). At Apuleius, *Met.* 1.15.2 the porter, refusing to open the gate to Aristomenes because of nocturnal bandits outside, says *nos cucurbitae⁴ caput non habemus ut pro te moriamur*, with the clear implication that 'a head like a

³The nickname 'Pumpkin' (Κολοκύνθιον) for Theodotus, City Prefect under Justinian (Procop. *Anecdota* 9.37), may refer to shape rather than to gullibility.

⁴*cucurbitae* is a genitive of definition.

gourd' is void of sense. The *vacuity* of the dried gourd is the point:⁵ it is perpetuated in Italian with the phrases *zucca secca* and *zucca vuota*, 'a dry gourd', 'an empty gourd', 'a numskull'.

At whatever stage of growth the *Cucurbita lagenaria*, the bottle gourd, is plucked, the watery pulp inside soon decomposes to leave nothing but the pips and the hard smooth outer rind.⁶ Mature specimens resemble a bulbous flask (cf. the associations of *ampulla* at Hor. *A.P.* 97) or a skittle,⁷ or, with the 'neck' swollen as well, a toy manikin.⁸

At 9.3 (see the note there) it is suggested that to admit Claudius to the company of the gods would be tantamount to introducing a spook, insubstantial and contemptible – a parallel to the gourd, a desiccated shell full of emptiness.

The senate, by honorific decree, had made Claudius into a god. The satirist, by and in the nature of his composition, makes him into a gourd.

2. THE DATE OF COMPOSITION

Theoretically the work could have been written at any time after the latest event mentioned. This is the death of Narcissus, the only member of the underworld reception party of section 13 to have survived Claudius. The sequence of Tacitus' narrative (*Ann.* 12.69–13.3) implies that he was driven to suicide even before Claudius' consecration. He may reasonably be presumed quite dead by late October A.D. 54.

The Golden Age terminology of section 4 is especially appropriate to the inauguration of a new principate. It is clearly paralleled in Calpurnius Siculus' first eclogue, which is datable on internal evidence to the last months of A.D. 54.⁹

⁵ Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 12.3.3 *sed nihil arduum uidebatur in animo principis, cui non iudicium, non odium erat nisi indita et iussa.*

⁶ I am grateful to Mr Julian Searle-Page of U Mulinu di Pendente, Canari, Haute Corse, for making me a neighbourly gift of a number of specimens.

⁷ Cf. Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Scornful Ladie* (printed 1616): 'Thy dry bones can reach at nothing now but gourds and ninepinnes.'

⁸ Cf. Elspeth Huxley, *The Flame Trees of Thika* (Harmondsworth (1962) 130): 'The liquor, made from sugar-cane, fermented in large gourds which sat like squat, plump-bellied elders round the fire.'

⁹ The orthodox view, concisely put by A. Momigliano, *C.Q.* 38 (1944) 97–9, reexamined and reaffirmed by G.B. Townend, *J.R.S.* 70 (1980) 166ff., esp. 168.

The phraseology of 1.1 *ante diem III idus Octobris anno nouo, initio saeculi felicissimi* implies a date of composition not more than one calendar year after the change of princeps. But topicality is a transient thing. It would have been moribund if the work was not composed soon after the events it describes.

K. Münscher (*Philologus Suppl.* 16 (1922) 49ff.) claimed that the work was available in court circles within weeks, if not days, of Nero's assumption of power. If this was so, it must have impressed those it reached as a remarkably coincidental counterpart to the contemporary encomium, cultured and, in part, inappropriately conventional,¹⁰ which Seneca wrote for Nero to deliver at Claudius' funeral (Tac. *Ann.* 13.3).

A more attractive hypothesis, stated as a fact by Furneaux,¹¹ is that it was produced for the Saturnalia beginning on 17 December A.D. 54. This was about two months after Claudius' death. It was Nero's first 'Christmas Party' as emperor. And he was himself Master of the Revels. But a promising emperor does not mix business and pleasure. The whole reign of Claudius, *Saturnalicus princeps*, had been one unending topsy-turvy holiday (8.2 and 12.2).

¹⁰ It is not impossible that Seneca deliberately calculated the incredulous amusement produced by the eulogy of Claudius' foresight and wisdom (Tac. *Ann.* 13.3.2), though this is not proved by Pliny the Younger's retrospective generalization (*Paneg.* 11.1) *dixit caelo ... Claudium Nero sed ut irideret*. A similar intention has less plausibly been ascribed to the exaggerated flattery of the *Consolatio ad Polybium* (W.H. Alexander, *Trans. Royal Soc. Canada* 3.37.2 (1943) 33ff.). For if his flattery was clearly ironical, or could plausibly be alleged to have been so intended, why did Seneca afterwards suppress the work 'out of shame' (Dio 61.10.2)? There can be no doubt that such motivation inspires the dirge of section 12.3 of our work.

¹¹ Thrice: *The Annals of Tacitus* 11^a 23f. n. 11; 45 n. 10; 171 n. 1. Furneaux's judiciously balanced survey of the rule of Claudius (pp. 19-48) was published in 1896. Epigraphical evidence which has come to light since then amplifies 'the undoubted evidence of painstaking and successful government', but does not essentially modify the overall picture. It has however been exploited to produce an overcorrection of the literary evidence by A.D. Momigliano, *Claudius: the Emperor and his Achievement* (ed. 1 Oxford 1934; ed. 2 Cambridge 1961) and V.M. Scramuzza, *The Emperor Claudius* (Cambridge, Mass. 1940). At a popular level the novels of Robert Graves, *I Claudius* and *Claudius the God*, follow the same sympathetically partial trend.

3. THE AUTHOR

Dio 60.35.3f. (p. 1) attributes a work on the death and deification of Claudius to L. Annaeus Seneca. This is the sole evidence from antiquity. The manuscript tradition, however, concurs in attributing our work to him. But the oldest manuscript cannot be earlier than the late ninth century A.D., and by the Middle Ages uninformed credulity had associated him with a number of works not his own. The *testimonia* are not strong enough to put Senecan authorship beyond doubt. Other considerations also have been urged to deny it.

The very nature of the work has been thought by some meanly unworthy of Seneca's image as a serious philosopher. This is a ludicrous objection. Among the informed, savage criticism of the disparity between his preaching and his practice has persisted from his own time (P. Suillius in Tac. *Ann.* 13.42) to ours (e.g. H.J. Rose, *A Handbook of Latin Literature*³ (London 1954) 359f.). Nothing cannot be ascribed to a man believed capable of saying anything and doing anything but what he says.

In particular the stark contrast between the guttersnipe jibes against the dead Claudius and the fulsome flattery of the living Claudius in the *Consolatio ad Polybium* (esp. 12.3-14.2) cannot, it is said, allow both compositions to have been penned by the same man. This objection not only misunderstands the almost diametrically opposite conventions of satire and courtly panegyric as literary genres, but also ignores a crucial change in personal circumstances. In A.D. 43, after two years of exile in Corsica, the dishonoured Seneca was desperate for recall and reinstatement. In A.D. 54, after the death of the emperor who had refused to grant them, the wheel of fortune had placed him in a position of unassailable power and authority, and destined him to be the virtual ruler of the Roman world for the next five years.

Some specific inconsistencies between Seneca's personal background and published beliefs on the one hand, and the text of the satire on the other, have been invoked to deny the latter's authenticity. A man with Spanish blood in his veins,¹² whose family was originally of provincial extraction, who recommended Stoic humanitarianism towards physical defects and Stoic cosmopolitanism for 'citizens of the world' cannot, it is

¹²This is an incorrect inference from the fact that he was born at Corduba.

said, have adopted the attitudes of a cruel, illiberal and chauvinist aristocrat. Seneca therefore cannot have sneered at Claudius' infirmities, his birth in the middle of Gaul, or his extension of the franchise. Sheer human inconsistency is admittedly not an adequate explanation, though Seneca's literary output, which might represent someone else's exclusive life's work, was only one of his activities. The discrepancies are no doubt to be explained in terms of different literary rôles, devised at different times, for different audiences.

Stylistic criteria sometimes supply the best available evidence of spuriousness. But there is nothing in the vocabulary or diction of our work which compels us to assign it to an author other than Seneca, or a period other than his. The verse passage of section 7 has close lexical, metrical and stylistic affinities with Seneca's tragedies, especially *Hercules Furens* (see 7.1n. *tragicus fit*).

Finally, it has been argued that Seneca would have had more political sense than to mock an official governmental act like a *consecratio*. This argument rests on two unjustified assumptions. The first is that the governing class went through the motions of deifying Claudius with more sincere faith, or a deeper sense of self-importance, than they showed in their other attentions to the state religion. And the immortalization of a princeps was a comparatively recent institution, open from the outset to the indifference or scepticism of the educated. The second assumption is that the work went through the usual process of 'publication' in the Roman world, was multiplied by scribes, displayed by book-sellers, and made freely available to the public with advertisement of the author's name.

The attractive suggestion made by Münscher (p. 5), that the pamphlet was originally circulated anonymously¹³ in court circles, deserves attention. The work was designed to be appreciated by Nero and his entourage. There is much in it to flatter him, and nothing to offend. He is the only living person mentioned in it. Agrippina, if aware of it, could not have been seriously upset, though allusions to incest, the fate of L. Silanus, and Claudius' failure to see the obvious in his bedroom, might have struck her as naughty and tactless. And she could not have been whole-heartedly amused at the outspoken criticism of the

¹³ Anonymity could easily be achieved in practical terms by neglecting to affix to the papyrus scroll the usual projecting label (*titulus*) naming author and title.

power of freedmen in the imperial secretariat, for she depended intimately on Pallas' cooperation. But it is significant that the author betrays no knowledge of the activities of Agrippina on the days before and after Claudius' death. Only the official version of his decease, and the witnessed facts of his deification, are mentioned. The mushroom and the poison, advertised by contemporary and later writers (Tac. *Ann.* 12.67.1), and exploited by other satirists, are not. If historical, they were a necessary secret at the time; if not, there is no point in Nero's later jest that mushrooms were the food of the gods (Suet. *Nero* 33.1; Dio 60.35.4). Claudius' surviving children Antonia, Britannicus and Octavia (officially Nero's wife) cannot have had the skit brought to their notice, except as a malicious foretaste of the degradation they were to suffer from Nero before they were murdered.

The nature of the work invites recitation before a select audience. Seneca's own voice may have given the work its first hearing, and he may have read it from his autograph copy. What the fate of that copy, or its copies, was until it was next demonstrably read with attention, in or soon after the age of Charlemagne, cannot even be guessed.

It will be appreciated that the misguided objections to Senecan authorship outlined above illustrate two not uncommon 'critical' fallacies: expectation of stereotyped consistency in an author and his work,¹⁴ and belief that aesthetic conclusions can be drawn from moral (and, in this case, anachronistically moral) premisses.

If Seneca did not write this work, who did? No known author of the same, or even a later, period can be a serious contender.¹⁵ Unidentified hacks, like the author(s) of the *Einsiedeln Eclogues*, certainly existed in the reign of Nero. An anonymous genius is a different matter.

4. THE FUNCTION

Ancient satire traditionally aimed to amuse, while intending to instruct. *Ridentem dicere uerum | quid uetat?* (Hor. *Sat.* 1.1.24f.). But *satura* was by its

¹⁴ If *Candide* had been circulated anonymously, and Voltaire's only other works had been tragedies, philosophical letters and moral discourses, would his authorship have been unquestioned?

¹⁵ L. Herrmann's attribution of the work to Phaedrus (*R.B. Ph.* 18 (1939) 267f.) is risible.

nature a medley, and a single composition could range over a number of disparate topics. In asking what the most significant thrust of our work is, we should not mistake a palpable hit, much less a glancing stroke, for a knockout blow.

The intention of the satire, which need not necessarily reveal the motivation of its author, has been variously asserted to be religious, political or personal.

The deification of emperors as an institutionalized practice could be attacked from a number of standpoints: orthodox conservatism, which resisted any new cults; philosophical scepticism, which rejected the imperial cult because it was a cult; and republicanism, which disapproved of it because it was imperial. All three attitudes can be read into individual passages: the debasement of the gods by multiplication (9.3); Claudius' ineligibility for godhead as conceived by Stoics or Epicureans (8.1); a timely release would benefit *res publica* no less than Claudius himself (3.1). None of these attitudes however, is developed into a sustained stance.

The satire has more plausibly been regarded as an attack on the deification of Claudius specifically, perhaps with a view to having it officially rescinded. In this case the motivation will have been political. Such an overriding intention of the work is not disproved by the fact that its presumed objective was not achieved immediately, if at all.¹⁶ But it is not compatible with Senecan authorship. Not only did Seneca have no need to depress Claudius officially in order to exalt Nero, he had done the very opposite in the *laudatio funebris*. Nero's personal hostility to his deified predecessor is not likely to have been allowed official expression while Agrippina was alive,¹⁷ and may never have found it with the concurrence of the senate.

The prevalent view which ascribes a political function to the satire asserts that it is an attack on the deification of Claudius not because Claudius was deified but because Agrippina sponsored it. Her close

¹⁶There is an apparent conflict between the literary (Suet. *Cl.* 45; *Vesp.* 9.1) and epigraphical evidence (*CIL* x 8014; *OGIS* 669; *ILS* 229, 233, 241). It can be resolved by remembering the difference between attitudes to deification in Rome and in the provinces, and between an emperor's actions and their validation by decree of the senate.

¹⁷She had been decreed the *flamonium Claudiale* (Tac. *Ann.* 13.2.6) and began the *templum Divi Claudii* (Suet. *Vesp.* 9.1).

association with the imperial cult was a victory, soon to be followed by a series of defeats, in her ambitious struggle to become coregent of the Roman empire. And, on this view, the satire is one of a number of effective initiatives taken by Seneca to curb her power and undermine her influence over Nero, already chafing under maternal domination. But if this was the primary thrust of the work its author was astonishingly inept not to support it with secondary pressures. The ways in which Agrippina's attempts to commandeer the official limelight had been frustrated could easily have provided them. There is nothing in the work to make Agrippina wince officially, or even to blush privately (see pp. 7f.).

A counterview sees the function as a defence of Agrippina. The work suppresses the real circumstances of Claudius' death and advertises the version authorized by the palace, insinuating its veracity by caricaturing it. Yet it is difficult to see how any author could have publicized Agrippina's guilt without revealing his own complicity. For a source near enough to know the facts so soon after their occurrence might be presumed near enough to have prevented them.

A singular view¹⁸ sees the major political point to be the vilification of Claudius because he was a Claudius, who had persecuted and murdered Augustus' Julian descendants, the rightful heirs to empire. So the satire is a contribution to support Nero's claim to be the sole legitimate heir to the principate, a claim never beyond question as long as Britannicus was alive. If this was to be his main point the satirist has obscured it by so unselective a list of Claudius' victims. The conspiracy of Camillus Scribonianus in the second year of Claudius' reign made him suspicious of usurpation to the point of paranoia, which disseminated itself indiscriminately, and was not systematically concentrated on members of the *gens Julia*.¹⁹

There is undeniably a political message. One of Claudius' first acts as emperor, after succeeding to the breakdown of government provoked by Gaius, had been to reassert the tradition of the principate and especially of its founder Augustus (Suet. *Cl.* 11). But by the time of his

¹⁸K. Kraft in *Historia* 15 (1966) 96-122.

¹⁹Calp. Sic. 1.54ff. describes Claudius' reign, from the suppression of the attempted rebellion of A.D. 42 to its end, as a spurious peace, under whose cover Claudius waged a virtual civil war of suspicion, terrorism, imprisonment and murder: see T.P. Wiseman in *J.R.S.* 72 (1982) 57-67.

death he had imprinted on his reign the character, not of an Augustan restoration, but of a cruel and arbitrary despotism. This is the assessment the satirist puts into the mouth of Augustus himself at the climax of the debate (10-11). The chief indictment (14.1) is Claudius' responsibility for causing the deaths of tens of senators, hundreds of knights, and a multitude of others. What he did not cause, his supine surrender of power to his contemptuous freedmen secretaries made him powerless to prevent (6.2). The Roman citizenship, with the privileges it conferred, had been devalued by wholesale gift (3.3). By arrogating to himself the judicial functions which properly belonged elsewhere (12.2), Claudius had made a mockery of justice through impatience and caprice (7.4f.; 12.3), and a profit for collusive and corrupt barristers (12.2f.). His pretensions to personal achievements in military exploits were fraudulent (12.3).

All of these charges, however fictionally presented, have a solid foundation in historical fact. The inauguration of the next principate is a stark contrast.

In his first speech to the senate as emperor, Nero outlined his programme for government (Tac. *Ann.* 13.4; Suet. *Nero* 10.1). He would rule *ex Augusti praescripto*. He had brought no hatred or vindictiveness to his new position (and in fact he consistently behaved with generosity and clemency, regretting his ability to read and write when he had to sign a death warrant). Senate and princeps were to revert to the division of powers established by Augustus; the former, at the discretion of the consuls, would give judgement on appeals from the senatorial provinces and Italy; the latter would permit no lucrative trading of favours. Nero would not himself sit in judgement on all matters (cf. Suet. *Nero* 15.1), and would thereby exclude opportunities for corruption, and for self-aggrandizement on the part of his secretaries, from the palace. The senate entered into the spirit of the reformation: the passing of decrees was brisk, including one forbidding barristers to accept pre-litigation bribes (Tac. *Ann.* 13.5.1).

Nero was disinclined to learn or share the practical business of government. He preferred to indulge a dilettante interest in the arts and in gymnastics. Seneca encouraged his enthusiasm for the apolitical 'arts of peace' from more than tactful compliance. Nero's inaugural address to the senate was not the result of spontaneous enlightenment. Seneca had written the speech for him (Dio 61.3.1), as he was to do five years

later (Tac. *Ann.* 14.11.4), and probably did in the interim as well. In his struggle against Agrippina it was vital for Seneca to continue to have the sole right of putting policy-statements in Nero's mouth, which he had tutored to imitate his own style (Suet. *Nero* 52).

The function of the satire is to achieve the same political objects, by complementary means, as Seneca achieved practically, by framing Nero's programme, and theoretically, by addressing to him the discourse *De clementia* (A.D. 55-6).

The bitterly personal tone of the satire is explained by Seneca's accumulated resentment. He had been exiled⁸⁰ on a charge that was plausible (see 10.4n.) but probably false. If his life had not been threatened, he had nevertheless experienced Claudius' judicial procedures at first hand. After his recall and appointment as Nero's tutor he must have seen, and may have suffered, the overbearing arrogance of Claudius' freedmen, and the suggestible impotence of their, and his, master. The evacuation of bile no doubt gave him psychological relief. But he would have continued to digest it had it no longer been impolitic not to.⁸¹

5. CONCLUSION TO SECTIONS 1 - 4

The satire was written soon after the events it describes, which had occurred in mid-October A.D. 54. The occasion for launching it was perhaps the *Saturnalia* in mid-December of the same year, when the traditional outspokenness of satire could be fully indulged, in the customary licence of the festivities.

The author was a man of exceptional artistic virtuosity, with a detailed knowledge of the events of Claudius' reign, and a malicious animosity towards Claudius himself. Everything points to Seneca, and to nobody else.

⁸⁰ To Corsica, probably to the Roman colony at Aléria (Alalia) on the east littoral. The so-called *Tour de Sénèque* in Cap Corse was not built earlier than the period of the Pisan protectorate, A.D. 1077-1133.

⁸¹ In his preface to the *Secret History*, with its scurrilous attacks on Justinian and the personalities of his court, Procopius says: 'It was not possible, during the life of certain persons, to write the truth about what they did, as a historian should.'

The chief function of the work is obliquely didactic: to make of Claudius an example to Nero of how not to govern. How he should in fact do so had been broadly sketched in his inaugural address to the senate and was shortly to be made abundantly clear in the *De clementia* (A.D. 55-6).

The intended audience was Nero and his intimates. Seneca may well have given the work its first miming recital himself. The actual manuscript was probably not immediately allowed to circulate bearing its author's name. Even the title *Apocolocyntosis*, coined in the spirit of Menippean satire, has the air of a jocular and inexplicit afterthought.

6. MENIPPEAN SATIRE AND THE LITERARY BACKGROUND

The *Apocolocyntosis* is a uniquely surviving specimen of Menippean satire from the Roman world, and a work of considerable originality. Yet it shares much of its thematic material with ancient literature: some of Plato's dialogues, like *Symposium*, *Phaedrus*, and *Republic* also begin with a statement of the time and place of the *mise en scène*; comic descriptions of disputatious gods, parodying their serious deliberations in the divine councils of epic poetry, occur in a number of places including the *Batrachomyomachia*, 'The Battle of Frogs and Mice'. Trygaeus ascends to heaven on his dung-beetle in Aristophanes' *Peace*; Herakles and Dionysus penetrate the Nether Regions in his *Frogs*.

There is, however, a concentration of such parallel material in some Menippean satire, and, since the satires written in this genre by Lucian and Julian the Apostate after the *Apoc.* cannot be shown to be dependent on it, there is a strong presumption that Seneca's chief inspiration, like theirs, was Menippus himself, in part, possibly, mediated by Varro.

(A) *Menippean satire*

This is distinguished as a separate species of the genus by Quintilian *I.O.* 10.1.95. Its characteristic features, imprinted on it by its eponymous originator Menippus of Gadara in the first half of the third century B.C., are its form, which is a mixture of prose and original verse, and its treatment, which is σκουδογέλοιοι, 'serio-comic'. Surviving titles of

his satires like 'The Dead', 'Wills', 'Exquisite Letters from the Face of the Gods', 'The Sale of Diogenes', and 'The Banquet', show that he provided a nucleus of stock themes for later imitators.

M. Terentius Varro (116–27 B.C.) is credited with the authorship of 150 books of *saturae Menippeae*. They were frankly imitative adaptations of Menippus (Cic. *Acad.* 1.2.8). Some six hundred tantalizingly incomplete fragments of them survive, each with an average length of about a dozen words, with some ninety titles. Salient similarities with the *Apoc.* are evident: wise saws and modern instances are common; the style admits colloquialisms (e.g. diminutives) and vulgarisms; Greek words, in the original or in transliteration, are frequent; there is a fair scattering of literary, historical and mythological allusions. Two striking formal elements of the one are reproduced in the other: dialogue presentation, and a range of different metres for the original verse. But content and tone differ markedly. Varro launched his attacks, with idiosyncratic and even bizarre inventiveness, on social sins, foibles and aberrations; his standpoint was conservative and his targets were the permissive, the self-indulgent and the materialist. His tone, though downright and outspoken, is genially good-humoured, without acrimony.

Seneca was clearly working within the same formal framework as Varro, whom he once cites (8.1 = fr. 583 a, not however known from any other source). Major structural themes of the *Apoc.*, ascension to heaven, the council of the gods, and descent to the underworld, are not, as it happens, discoverable in the fragments of Varro.

These themes do, however, figure prominently in two satires, *Icaromenippus* and *Council of the Gods*, written by Lucian of Samosata in the second century A.D. Lucian worked in an exclusively Greek literary tradition, and we may assume some direct dependence on Menippus.

In *Icar.* 22 there is a full description of the journey to heaven; Icaromenippus reaches the gate of heaven and knocks; Hermes answers and asks his name; he reports it to Zeus; a few moments afterwards Icaromenippus is summoned before the assembled gods; they are appalled at this new creature of Daedalus with one eagle's wing and one vulture's; Zeus in thunderous tones asks who he is, using the Homeric verse $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma \pi\acute{o}\theta\epsilon\nu \epsilon\lambda\varsigma \kappa\tau\lambda.$ = *Apoc.* 5.4. The events of *Apoc.* 5–7 do not conform to this explicit sequence: Seneca omits some stages and modifies others.

In Lucian's *Council of the Gods* the point at issue is the worthiness of

gods already recognized in some way, not the qualifications of new applicants. Zeus calls the disorderly assembly to order (as Jupiter does at 9.1). Momus, the 'Fault-Finder', objects to gods who are half-mortal and have introduced their retinue: those like Dionysus, with Pan, Silenus and the satyrs, have brought them all into men's contempt (at 9.3 Janus proposes to forbid future deification to those who 'eat the fruit of the field' and are at least partly mortal). Zeus, seeing the drift of his argument, forbids him to mention Asclepius or Herakles. Momus blames Zeus' own affairs with mortal women for the introduction of demi-gods (at 8.2 there is allusion not to Jupiter's amours, but to the irregularity of his 'regular' union with Juno his sister). Momus then changes his subject and successively attacks the gods of oriental cults, minor local heroes with oracular shrines, and abstract entities 'excogitated by idiotic philosophers'. Momus moves the resolution in formulaic phrases modelled on decrees of Council and People in fourth-century Athens (cf. 9.3): gods who cannot prove their divine status are to be buried, and anyone discredited and once rejected who is caught ascending to heaven is to be hurled down to Tartarus (cf. 11.5-6 Mercury's action after Augustus' motion). Zeus, knowing that Momus' resolution would be defeated if put to the vote, declares it carried: if any claimant fails to produce unimpeachable credentials, he will be rejected 'even if he has a great temple on earth and men think him to be a god' (at 8.3 it is suggested that Claudius ought to be content with a temple in Britain and the worship of barbarians, and not aspire to godhead).

Little in theme and nothing in structure suggest that Lucian was dependent on the *Apoc*. His tone of spiritless urbanity, unengaged and unprovoking, never sharpens to rival the pungency of Seneca's attack *in personam non in rem*. At the end of Lucian's *Nero*, the death of that emperor is announced and the interlocutor Musonius comments 'But let's not crow, they say you shouldn't over the fallen', a prescription which eliminates the very essence of Seneca's treatment. Ball's contention (77) that 'there is abundant evidence . . . that the religious conditions Lucian had especially in mind were Roman' is insupportable. Most of the abstract entities to which Momus objects have Roman parallels, Virtus, (Fors) Fortuna and Necessitas. But Lucian was thinking of the Greek concepts he names, which continued to flourish in the worship of Greek-speaking subjects of the Roman Empire. Further, the categories of claimant indicted by Momus, from Olympian hangers-on, like Silenus,

to minor local heroes, like Trophonius, simply do not 'point to the explanation of the whole dialogue as an indirect satire upon the easy immortalization of the emperors', as Ball maintains.

The *Caesares* (or *Symposium* or *Kronia*) of Julian, A.D. 332-363, has more formal features in common with the *Apoc.* than Lucian's *Council of the Gods*: some verse, the doggerel anapaestic dimeters of Hermes' proclamation, quotations from Homer and Greek tragedy and lyric, and a sprinkling of proverbs (including αἵκε πάθῃ κτλ., cf. *Apoc.* 14.2n.). But it is even further removed from it in substance. Julian's opening disclaimer, that he has no talent for amusing or entertaining, is amply justified by the result. His invention is a story of how Romulus gave a banquet at the Saturnalia for both established gods and deceased emperors. Julian, 'the Apostate' from Christianity, raises no question of the worthiness of the former (Silenus plays a principal role), or of the suitability of the latter for divinization, which, as an institution, is nowhere mentioned. Instead a partial judgment is given on each emperor as he arrives in chronological order of earthly office, and when this is completely unfavourable he is refused admission to the banquet. Caligula appears so bestial that Justice immediately hands him over to the Avengers who hurl him down to Tartarus (310 A,B); Nero, deprived of his Apolline laurel-wreath, is snatched away by Cocytus (310 C). Claudius himself receives the conventional indictment, that separated from his freedmen Narcissus and Pallas, and his wife Messalina, he has no speaking part in the drama of life (310 C).

(B) *Lucilius (who died, an old man, in 102/101 B.C.)*

A section, or even the whole, of Lucilius' first book of verse satires came to be entitled *Concilium deorum*. It contained a savage political and moral attack (cf. Persius 1.114f.) on Lucius Cornelius Lentulus Lupus, who though condemned for extortion as proconsul, survived and thrived to become censor, and *princeps senatus* in 131 B.C. The reconstruction of the satire from fragmentary evidence is necessarily hypothetical, but in broad outline it provides a parallel for the *Apoc.*

Lupus seems to be under attack for the discrepancies between what he should have used political office, especially the censorship, to do, and what he in fact did, or allowed to be done. This is the essence of Seneca's indictment of Claudius. Like him, Lupus is made the subject of debate among the gods, who do not refrain from voicing personal grievances

and criticisms. The celestial council may have used senatorial procedure – Lupus' position as *princeps senatus* would have made it irresistibly apt – under the chairmanship of Jupiter. The chief and decisive prosecutor may have been Romulus. One identical motif is attested: the monstrous impression created by Claudius on arrival in heaven (5.2–3) and by Lupus (frs. 43, 44 M). Direct influence of Lucilius on Seneca might be postulated, were it not that features shared among other 'councils of the gods', including the *Apoc.*, are used as guidelines for the reconstruction.

(C) *Side-influences*

Libellous lampoons, partisan pamphlets and secret memoirs were part and parcel of the political life of the late republic and early empire. When Claudius reiterated that he had feigned stupidity to save his skin from Caligula, a book appeared entitled *μωρῶν ἐκανάστασις*, 'The Resurrection of Fools'²² (Suet. *Cl.* 38.3). Furius Camillus Scribonianus thought that he could force Claudius into resignation and retirement without armed force, and had written him a letter which was 'insulting, threatening and impudent' (Suet. *Cl.* 35.2). Nero's mother, Agrippina, wrote *commentarii*, 'memoirs' about her life and times, consulted by Tacitus (*Ann.* 4.53.3), and a probable record and source of much court scandal and gossip.

In the second half of the first century A.D. Rome and the East began to swarm with itinerant Cynic philosophers whose soap-box tirades no doubt continued their sect's tradition of diatribe and satire. The shortcomings of emperors measured against the ideal of the philosopher-king must have been a favourite topic, concentrating the criticism of classes not committed to the high-minded Stoic opposition of the aristocracy.

7. TESTIMONIA AND THE TRANSMISSION OF THE TEXT

(A) *Antiquity*

Lucan (A.D. 39–65) in the *Bellum civile* 6.785ff. (the ghosts of the illustrious Roman dead, described by the corpse reanimated by the witch Erichtho), and Juvenal 6.620–3 (*minus ergo nocens erit Agrippinae | boletus*,

²²The genitive may be objective: 'The Insurrection against Fools'.

siquidem unius praecordia pressit | ille senis tremulumque caput descendere iussit | in caelum et longa manantia labra saliva), have been thought to have been respectively influenced by Seneca's description of Claudius' victims meeting to greet him in the underworld at *Apoc.* 13, and of Claudius' descent to Hades after ejection from heaven. But the merest general resemblance of theme, with no significant verbal echoes, proves nothing.

The *Apoc.* was, for different reasons, beneath the acknowledged notice of both Quintilian (A.D. c. 30–c. 100) and Tacitus (A.D. c. 56–c. 115).

The account of Suetonius (born A.D. c. 69) of the events following Claudius' death is summary (*Cl.* 45; *Nero* 8f.). It contains no distinctive feature to suggest that he used the *Apoc.* at all. His estimate of the number of Claudius' victims (*Cl.* 29.2) may be regarded as totally independent (cf. 14.1n.).

The Menippean satires of Lucian (born A.D. c. 120), similarly, betray no certain indication of direct debt (cf. pp. 14f.).

The puritan Christian apologetics of Tertullian (A.D. c. 160–c. 240) contain passages which rival the *Apoc.* in virulent invective. His outburst at *Ad nationes* 2.9 (A.D. c. 197), *Quid Sterculus* [the god of manuring] *meruit ad diuinitatem?* . . . *plus fimi Augias conferebat*, is one which Seneca might enviously have incorporated, but did not supply.

The surprising reference to the *Apoc.* by Cassius Dio (second-third centuries A.D.) is quoted on p. 1.

Our text is nowhere cited by the grammarians and commentators of the fourth century A.D. (Nonius, Aelius Donatus, Charisius) or later. If they knew it they must have rejected it as unsuitable for their purposes.²³

But in the same century Ausonius (died A.D. c. 395), a talented plagiarist, apparently shows acquaintance with the *Apoc.* (2.2) in a letter to Paulinus of Nola (*Ep.* 23 P), where, after a poetical description of the times of year and day, he continues with what could be a prose adaptation of Seneca: *nescis, puto, quid uelim tot uersibus dicere, medius fidius neque ego bene intellego: tamen suspicor. iam prima nox erat ante diem nonum decimum Kal. Ian. cum. . .* etc. Yet Ausonius' elegiac couplet on Claudius shows none of Seneca's animosity: *libertina tamen nuptiarum et crimina passus, | non faciendo nocens set patiendo fuit* (p. 183 P). This comparatively chari-

²³ *Fundite fletus* is cited, with no indication of source, in *GL* (Serv.) IV. 460.14f. K (Russo⁸ 144).

itable verdict is substantially the same as that of Julian (also fourth century A.D.) in his *Caesares* (p. 16), which is not directly indebted to Seneca.

After the fourth century we lose even tenuous trace of the *Apoc.* until the middle of the ninth.

(B) *The Middle Ages and Renaissance*

The *Life* of Wala, Charlemagne's cousin and abbot of Corbie, was written under the title *Epitaphium Arsenii* by Paschasius Radbertus, one of the founders of the daughter monastery at Corvey, and later, in the decade before the middle of the ninth century, himself abbot of Corbie. It was written in two books (printed in *MGH* II), the first composed not long after Wala's death in A.D. 836, the second not until after A.D. 852. An extensive passage is closely modelled on *Apoc.* 1.2-3:

quis umquam ab historico iuratores exegit? tamen si necesse fuerit . . . aut non legisti, quid nuper attulit gentilium thema quod quidam Drusillam in caelum euntem uiderit? fortassis idem uidisse Arsenium habentem iter in caelum narrabit. quapropter eum interrogale, si uobismet non creditis, uelit nolite, quae in caelo aguntur, quia diuinis non credimus, forsitan se uidisse monstrabit. quem si interroges, uel soli narrabit, coram pluribus, ut aestimo, numquam uerbum factururus. nam idem ex quo in senatu iurauit eandem se uidisse caelum ascendere eique pro tam bono nuntio nemo credidit, quidquid uiderit uerbis conceptis firmavit se nulli dicturum, etiamsi in foro hominem uidisset occisum.

Radbertus was the most learned Frankish theologian of the ninth century (cf. M. Manitius, *GLLM* 1.401ff.). Yet he saw fit to imitate the *Apoc.* in the course of a pious obituary. His failure to appreciate the satiric drift of his source suggests that he had not read Suetonius, who nevertheless served his contemporary Einhard as a model for his *Life of Charlemagne*. He may have been further misled by a MS which either gave the work no title, or gave it in the incomplete form *Diui Claudii Apotheosis*, omitting *per satiram* (cf. the *inscriptio* of S).

The end of the ninth century saw the writing of two of the primary MSS: S, produced in Germany, perhaps at Fulda, and V, written in the neighbourhood of Reims. The latter was one of eighteen MSS bequeathed to his Benedictine Abbey of St Amand-en-Pévèle by

Hucbaldus, a versatile scholar more devoted to pagan than ecclesiastical learning, when he died, at the age of ninety, in A.D. 930. This MS was twice corrected by roughly contemporary hands. But it was never copied, either before or after it was numbered 190 in a twelfth-century catalogue of the Abbey Library. It stayed there, to be consulted and corrected (V²), probably by Hadrianus Junius in the middle of the sixteenth century (cf. 5.1 *app. crit.*), until, with the suppression of religious establishments and the requisitioning of church property during the French Revolution, it was transferred to the municipal library at Valenciennes c. A.D. 1790.

In the following tenth and eleventh centuries the *Apoc.* gave no sign of its existence.

Then the Anglo-Norman renaissance of the twelfth century produced in England the greatest historian of the age, William of Malmesbury (died A.D. c. 1143), who cites the *Apoc.* at least thrice,²⁴ and, most probably in France, the third of the primary MSS, L, which contains the earliest evidence of intelligent criticism applied to the text of the *Apoc.* (cf. 15.2n. and *C.Q.* N.S. 29 (1979) 154f.), and the earliest glosses on it.

The scholarly recension represented by L flourished in northern France in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Four or five of the six MSS of this period were written there. And in the thick of this, the bibliophile extraordinary, Richard of Fournival, centred on Amiens, possessed a copy of the *ludus . . . Seneca de morte Claudii Neronis*, as we know from his mid-thirteenth century catalogue: what remains of his MS is in fact Parisinus Lat. 8624, fols. 73r–73v. One MS of this period happened to be written on the other side of the Channel, at Waltham Abbey (it is now in the library of Princeton University: Robert Garret 114); and the MS in Exeter Cathedral Library was more probably written in England than in France.

From the later thirteenth century onwards the S tradition also emerged from four centuries of unrepresented obscurity and made itself known. But its representatives, some fifteen MSS, are not only numeri-

²⁴I am deeply grateful to Mr L.D. Reynolds for supplying me with much valuable information for this and the following sections of the Introduction, both in correspondence and by showing me the first draft of his article (see the Bibliography).

cally inferior to the L tradition, they also derive from a copy of S which was vexed with arbitrary transpositions and serious omissions.

Italian proto-humanists of the fourteenth century, Boccaccio, Petrarch and Coluccio Salutati, all display some acquaintance with the *Apoc.* (Russo⁵ 131).

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the L tradition went forth from France and multiplied. It inspired eight substantial glosses²⁵ on the *Apoc.* which appear in three MSS now at Oxford – and which throw no significant light on the text.²⁶ It also became, though not in its purest form, the basis of the *editio princeps*, published at Rome in A.D. 1513 by a Caius Sylvanus *Germanicus*, from an MS *nuper in Germania repertus*, which is not known, but must have had close affinities with Vat. Lat. 4498. In his preface Sylvanus disclaims making any corrections himself. If this is the truth, it must have been some dilettante glossator who, in the MS 'recently discovered in Germany', made mischievously plausible interpolations inspired by Suetonius, Juvenal and others, and so did long-term damage to the text.

The first annotated edition, reproducing the text of the *editio princeps*, with minor corrections suggested by his own knowledge, was issued by Beatus Rhenanus for the publisher Froben at Basle in A.D. 1515. Later in the same year this was incorporated by the same publisher in the first edition of Erasmus' *Opera utriusque Senecae*. By the time this went into a second edition in A.D. 1529, Rhenanus was in a position to make more informed judgments in the light of a certain *codex Wissenburgensis*.²⁷

Among the many scholars who exercised their critical faculties on the interpolated text in the course of the next three centuries, the most remarkable is Justus Lipsius, whose five editions of Seneca the Younger were published at Antwerp by the Plantin printing-house between A.D. 1605 and 1652. Earlier, when professor of history at Leiden (A.D. 1579–90), Lipsius had published a *Somnium*, closely modelled on the

²⁵ Published by C.F. Russo *P.P.* 7 (1952) 48ff., and 'critically edited' by R.E. Clairmont, *A Commentary on Seneca's Apocolocyntosis Divi Claudii* (Chicago 1980): see my review in *C.R.* N.S. 31 (1981) 328.

²⁶ The statement of *Glossa* 1, that Seneca wrote the *Apoc.* at the beginning of Nero's reign happens, unlike many other inferences from the text, to be correct.

²⁷ For further information see F. Spaltenstein and P. Petitmengin, *R.H.T.* 9 (1979) 315–27. The advance of Rhenanus' second thoughts over his first is illustrated in the *apparatus* at 7.2.v.1.

Apoc., but drawing on a medley of sources in the spirit of the original. In this *Dream* he saw a conclave of classical Latin authors, including Cicero, Sallust, Ovid, Varro and Pliny, all debating how to obtain redress for the atrocities perpetrated against their texts by variously misguided critics.

(C) *The nineteenth and twentieth centuries: scientific criticism*

The invention and exploitation of printing were a mixed blessing for the Latin classics. The fate of the *Apoc.* is typical. The text disseminated in print from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century (up to F. Haase's Teubner edition of 1852-62), and so established as the vulgate, was that of the *editio princeps*, a humanist refurbishing of the first MS to come to hand, which in this case happened itself to have been subjected to not unintelligent adjustments in the previous great renaissance, four centuries earlier.

In 1830 Orelli published a collation of S against Lipsius' second edition.²⁸ By advertising this MS, which was to prove superior not only to the L tradition of the vulgate, but also to all other members of its own family, Orelli signalled the means for beginning scientific criticism.

C. 1864²⁹ Buecheler, with further information about S, whose pre-eminence he recognized, and V, and with collations of a number of other MSS, laid the foundation for what is still the standard text for reference purposes.³⁰ But one vital element was still missing – the origin itself of the vulgate tradition, L.

In 1926 this element was supplied by Otto Rossbach's discovery and collation of L, and the importance of this contribution is not obscured by the regrettable inaccuracies which disfigure the *apparatus* of his edition.³¹

In 1948 C.F. Russo published the first edition of his text and commentary.³² Thanks both to advances in the theory of textual criticism, and to easier and more reliable means of transmitting information about MSS, Russo was able to establish the stemmatic relationship of

²⁸ In his *Epistola ad Madvigium*, prefixed to his edition of Cicero, *Orator* etc. (Turici 1830).

²⁹ In *Symbola Philologorum Bonnensium* 31-89 (Lipsiae 1864-7) = F. Buecheler *Kleine Schriften* (Leipzig-Berlin 1915) I 439-507.

³⁰ See the Bibliography.

³¹ See the Bibliography.

³² See the Bibliography.

the three primary MSS. His *apparatus* is skeletal, and sparsely reports the later tradition as an indiscriminated mass.

In 1979 were published the results of a detailed examination of the MSS tradition.³³ It confirmed Russo's main conclusions. It also demonstrated that MSS written from the later twelfth century onwards are predominantly the result of vertical transmission, with comparatively little horizontal contamination, and fall, with satisfying neatness, into two family groups only: one of the three primary MSS, V, produced no offspring.

8. THE MANUSCRIPTS

Manuscripts are listed by families, in very approximate chronological order. The date refers strictly to the cited folia or pages of the MS. Defective MSS are marked with an asterisk: those known from catalogues but no longer extant are marked with two asterisks. MSS which make no attempt to transmit any of the Greek quotations are marked with an obelisk. MSS to be eliminated because derived from other extant MSS are marked with a section-mark (§). Contamination is indicated by a swung dash (~). The country of origin, where known, is given in brackets.

SANGALLENSIS 569, pp. 243-51, late 9th cent., parchment (Germany)

Casinensis 392, pp. 121-6, 14th cent., parchment

Marcianus Lat. 267, fols. 28v-33r, 14th cent., parchment³⁴

Holkhamicus 390, fols. 259v-262v, 14th cent., parchment (Italy)³⁵

Vaticanus Lat. 2201, fols. 111r-113v, 14th cent., parchment

Vaticanus Lat. 2216, fols. 118v-121v, 14th cent., parchment (?France)

Parisinus Lat. n.a. 1303, fols. 9v-15v, A.D. 1375, paper (Italy)

~Antonianus (Paduensis) S.I.9, fols. 301r-303r, 14th cent., parchment

³³ P.T. Eden in *C.Q.* n.s. 29 (1979) 149-61.

³⁴ Presented to St Mark's at Venice by Cardinal Bessarion (A.D. c. 1400-1472).

³⁵ Used by Justus Lipsius for his A.D. 1605 edition.

- ~Vaticanus Lat. 2212, fols. 284v-287v, 14th cent., parchment
(?Germany)
- Cracoviensis 722 (cc viii 4), fols. 327v-329v, A.D. 1430,
parchment
- §Cracoviensis 534 (cc vii 40), fols. 249r-252v, A.D. 1433, paper
- †Laurentianus Aedilium 168, fols. 92r-94v, 15th cent., paper
- §†Laurentianus Faesulanus 180, fols. 370r-373r, 15th cent.,
parchment
- Plagensis Cpl. (454b) 57, fols. 8r-12v, 15th cent., paper
- †Valentianus 2150, pp. 328-35, 15th cent., parchment
- ~†Dublinensis E.5.20, fols. 182v-186v, 15th cent., paper
- VALENTIANENSIS 411 (393), fols. 90r-105r, late 9th
cent., parchment (France)
- LONDINIENSIS B.L. Addit. 11983, fols. 21v-28v, early
12th cent., parchment (France, rather than England)
- Parisinus Lat. 6630, fols. 98r-103v, 12th-13th cent., parchment
(France)
- Baltimorensis 114, fols. 99r-102v, early 13th cent., parchment
(England)
- Exoniensis 3549(8), fols. 257r-259r, mid-13th cent., parchment
(probably England rather than France)
- * Parisinus Lat. 8501A, fols. 130r-131v, 13th cent., parchment
(France)
- * Parisinus Lat. 8624, fols. 73r-73v, 13th cent., parchment
(France)³⁶
- ~† Parisinus Lat. 8542, fols. 185v-188r, 13th cent., parchment
(France)
- Cortonensis 81, fols. 24r-26v, 14th cent., parchment
- †Malatestianus Caesenae S. xx. 1, fols. 175v-177r, 14th cent.,
parchment
- Parisinus Lat. 1936, fols. 356r-358v, 14th cent., parchment
- Parisinus Lat. 6389, fols. 60r-63r, 14th cent. parchment
- † Parisinus Lat. 2389, fols. 58r-64r, 14th cent., parchment³⁷
- ~Mertonensis 297, fols. 198r-201r, 14th cent. (before A.D. 1366),
parchment
- † Parisinus Lat. 6395, fols. 221v-223v, 14th cent., parchment

³⁶ Owned by Richard of Fournival (see p. 20).

³⁷ On fol. 64r: *ex libb. Petri Danielis Aurelii 1564*.

Parisinus Lat. 8717, fols. 51r-55v, 14th cent., parchment
 Vaticanus Arch. S. Pietro C. 121, fols. 248v-250v, 14th cent.,
 parchment (Italy)

†* Parisinus Lat. 8544, fols. 117r-117v, A.D. 1389, parchment

† Mertonensis 300, fols. 205v-207r, 14th-early 15th cent.,
 parchment

Parisinus Lat. 5055, fols. 170r-173v, 14th-15th cent., paper
 (?Italy)

† Balliolensis 130, fols. 76r-83v, 15th cent., parchment
 (Germany)

† Balliolensis 136, fols. 87r-93v, 15th cent., paper (Italy)

† Leodiensis 109, fols. 33r-41r, 15th cent., paper

§ Turonensis 693, fols. 57r-62v, 15th cent., parchment

§† Bodleianus 292 (2446), fols. 156v-160v, 15th cent. (after A.D.
 1454), parchment

~† Vaticanus Chigianus H. VIII 259, fols. 245v-249v, 15th cent.,
 parchment (Italy)

§†* Vaticanus Rossianus 604, fols. 298v-299v, 15th cent.,
 parchment²⁸

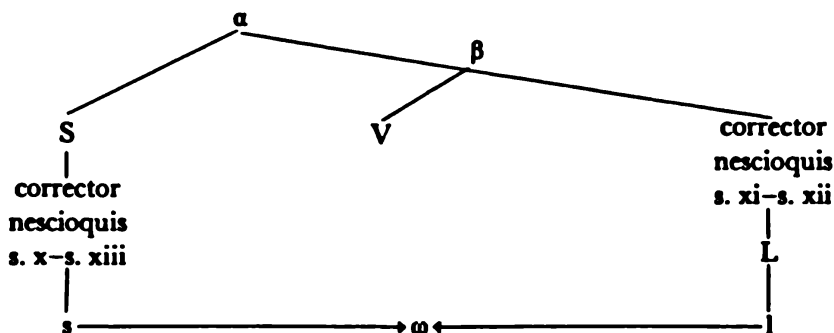
† Guelferbytanus Extravag. 299, fols. 2r-16v, 15th cent., parch-
 ment (Italy)

† Vaticanus Lat. 4498, fols. 112v-118v, late 15th cent.,
 parchment

** Parisinus Lat. 15730 (Sorb. 354), 13th cent.

** Marcianus Lat. 268, 14th cent.

9. STEMMA CODICUM



²⁸ A copy of Parisinus Lat. 8544.

SIGLA

S = Sangallensis 569, saec. ix ex.

V = Valentianensis 411 (393), saec. ix ex.

L = Londiniensis B.L. Addit. 11983, saec. xii in.

α = consensus codicum SVL uel SV uel SL

β = consensus codicum VL

s = consensus codicum omnium uel plurium familiae S

l = consensus codicum omnium uel plurium familiae L

ω = consensus codicum recentiorum omnium uel plurium et familiae S
et familiae L

S^c = manus prima cod. S ipsa se corrigens

V², V³ = manus secunda, tertia, cod. V

L², L³ = manus secunda, tertia, cod. L

De codicum stemmate et familiis in C.Q. N.S. 29 (1979) 149 sqq. plenius disserui

NOTE ON ORTHOGRAPHY

The reading of α, the recoverable archetype, is followed in questions of assimilation (hence e.g. *affirmauit* but *adquiescunt* and *adsiduus*) and termination (e.g. *celeris* acc. pl. at 12.3 v. 7). Intervocalic -u- is written as such, to make some types of scribal error more immediately understandable.

DIVI CLAVDII ΑΠΟΚΟΛΟΚΥΝΤΩΣΙΣ

L. ANNAEI SENECAE DIVI CLAUDII ΑΠΟΚΟΛΟΚΥΝΤΩΣΙΣ

- 1 Quid actum sit in caelo ante diem III idus Octobris anno nouo,
initio saeculi felicissimi, uolo memoriae tradere. nihil nec off-
ensae nec gratiae dabitur. haec ita uera. si quis quaesiu-
erit unde
5 sciam, primum, si noluer-
o, non respondebo. quis coacturus est?
ego scio me liberum factum, ex quo suum diem obiit ille, qui
uerum prouerbum fecerat, aut regem aut fatuum nasci oport-
ere. si libuerit respondere, dicam quod mihi in buccam uenerit.
quis umquam ab historico iuratores exegit? tamen si necesse
fuerit auctorem producere, quaerito ab eo qui Drusillam euntem
10 in caelum uidit: idem Claudium uidisse se dicet iter facientem
'non passibus aequis'. uelit nolit, necesse est illi omnia uidere
quae in caelo aguntur: Appiae uiae curator est, qua scis et diuum
Augustum et Tiberium Caesarem ad deos isse. hunc si inter-
rogaueris, soli narrabit: coram pluribus numquam uerbum
15 faciet. nam ex quo in senatu iurauit se Drusillam uidisse caelum
ascendentem et illi pro tam bono nuntio nemo credidit quod
uiderit, uerbis conceptis affirmauit se non indicaturum etiam si
in medio foro hominem occisum uidisset. ab hoc ego quae tum
audiui, certa clara affero, ita illum saluum et felicem habeam.
- 2 iam Phoebus breuiore uia contraxerat arcum
lucis et obscuri crescebant tempora Somni,
iamque suum uictrix augebat Cynthia regnum,
et deformis Hiems gratos carpebat honores

De titulo uide sis quae in praefationis paginis 1-4 disputabam

1 III α: III° L: iiii° uel terci° ω nouo α: nono uel viiii° uel ix° ω 2 saeculi
felicissimi αl: felicissimi saeculi s nec S: om. βω 3 haec ita uera αl: haec
(uel hoc) ita esse ... s 4 noluerō α: uoluerō ω 5 scio me αl: me scio s
8 exegit α: exigit L: utrumque ω 9 quaerito S: quaerite βω 10 idem Lω:
de S oblito non liquet: item V 11 non passibus aequis (Virg. Aen. 2.724) αl:
non aequis passibus s 12 aguntur SV²s: agantur βl 16-17 Quod uiderit
S: quid uiderit βl: om. s: del. Gruter: quidquid uiderit Paschasius Radbertus: quod
uiderat Gertz 17 etiam si αl: et si s 18 quae tum S: quaecumque β: quae
cum (que) ω 19 certa S: certe βl: certa et s 1 arcum Eden: ortum ωω:
orbem Fromond 3 suum βω: suam S

TRANSLATION

1 I want to put on record the business transacted in heaven on the 1
thirteenth of October in the new year which began an era of
prosperity. No concession will be made to umbrage taken or
favour granted. This is the authentic truth. If anyone inquires
about the source of my information, first – if I do not want to – I
shall not reply. Who is going to compel me? I know that I have
had freedom of choice ever since time was up for the man who
gave truth to the proverb that one should be born either a king or
a fool. If it takes my fancy to reply, I shall say whatever trips off 2
my tongue. Who ever demanded sworn referees from a historian?
But if it is obligatory to produce the originator of the account, let
the inquirer ask the man who saw Drusilla on her way to heaven:
he will say that he saw Claudius making the same journey ‘with
unequal steps’. Like it or not, he cannot help seeing everything
that goes on in heaven: he is superintendent of the Appian Way,
along which, as you know, both the deified Augustus and
Tiberius Caesar went to join the gods. If you question this man, 3
he will tell the tale to you alone: he will never utter a word in the
presence of more than one. For since he swore in the senate that
he had seen Drusilla climbing the heavens, and in return for such
good news nobody has believed what he claims to have seen, he
affirmed in measured terms that *he* would make no disclosure,
even if he had seen a man murdered in the middle of the Forum.
What I then heard from him I am reporting plain and clear – as
surely as I wish him safe and sound.

2 Phoebus had already drawn in the arc of his light with a 1
shorter path, and the periods of darkling Sleep were grow-
ing, and Cynthia was already triumphantly extending her
sway, and foul Winter was snatching at the welcome splen-

- 5 diuitis Autumni iussoque senescere Baccho 5
carpebat raras serus uindemitor uuas.
puto magis intellegi si dixero: mensis erat October, dies III idus 2
Octobris. horam non possum certam tibi dicere (facilius inter
philosophos quam inter horologia conueniet) tamen inter
10 sextam et septimam erat. 'nimis rustice! <adeo his> adquiescunt 3
omnes poetae, non contenti ortus et occasus describere, ut etiam
medium diem inquietent: tu sic transibis horam tam bonam?'
iam medium curru Phoebus diuiserat orbem 4
et propior Nocti fessas quatiebat habenas
15 obliquo flexam deducens tramite lucem:
Claudius animam agere coepit nec inuenire exitum poterat.
3 tum Mercurius, qui semper ingenio eius delectatus esset, 1
unam e tribus Parcis seducit et ait: 'quid, femina crudelissima,
hominem miserum torqueri pateris? nec umquam tam diu
cruciatus cesset? annus sexagesimus et quartus est, ex quo cum
5 anima luctatur. quid huic et reipublicae inuides? patere mathe- 2
maticos aliquando uerum dicere, qui illum, ex quo princeps
factus est, omnibus annis omnibus mensibus efferunt. et tamen
non est mirum si errant et horam eius nemo nouit: nemo enim
umquam illum natum putauit. fac quod faciendum est:
10 dede neci, melior uacua sine regnet in aula.'
sed Clotho 'ego mehercules' inquit 'pusillum temporis adicere illi 3

5 iussoque α: iussosque uel uisosque uel uisoque ω 7 intellegi ωω: intelleges
C.F.W. Mueller: fortasse intellegis dies III idus α: dies I (spatiumculo insequenti
non inscripto) eiusdem L: dies iii° (tercio) uel iiii° (quarto) idus s: dies tercius (uel iii
uel ut uel vi uel sextus) eiusdem l 8 certam tibi α: tibi certam L: utrumque
ω 10 adeo his suppleuit Russo, alia alii, sed omnes suspectum 11 contenti
βω: conuenti S ut ωω: nisi Par. 6395: quin Dubl. E.5.20 13 curru α: curru
uel cursu ω 14 nocti fessas Sr: noctis fessus βl 15 flexam α: flexam uel
fessam ω 1 Num ut uidetur S esset al: fuerat s 2 seducit Sr: educit βl
4 cesset Iunius: nec umquam tam diu cruciatus esset al: numquam (uel numquid)
meritum ut tam diu cruciaretur s et ωω: om. Par. 8624: del. Buecheler 5 et
rei publicae inuides Sr: et respondit inuides V: inuides et respondit Ll 7 annis
omnibus α: om. s mensibus ωω: mensis V 9 Tum ille ante fac add.
Ll 10 Virg. Georg. 4.90 11 me hercules SVs: me hercule Ll: me
erculus V

dours of wealthy Autumn, and, with Bacchus commanded to age, the belated grape harvester was plucking the sparse grapes.

I think this is better understood if I say: the month was 2
October, the day the thirteenth. I cannot tell you the exact hour
(it will be easier for philosophers to agree than clocks!) but it was
between twelve noon and one o'clock. 'Far too unsophisticated! 3
All poets, not satisfied with describing sunrises and sunsets,
indulge themselves in these practices so much that they disturb
the noontide siesta as well: will *you* pass over such a good hour like
this?'

Phoebus in his chariot had already passed the middle of his 4
orbit and, closer to Night, was shaking his weary reins,
leading down his redirected light by a sloping path.

Claudius began to gasp his last, and could not find any way to go.

3 Then Mercury, because he had always been delighted with 1
the man's talents, took one of the three Fates aside and said:
'Cruellest of women, why are you letting the wretched man be
racked? Is he never to have a rest after being tortured for so long?
For sixty-four years he has been struggling with the breath of life.
Why do you bear a grudge against him, and against the state of 2
Rome? Let the astrologers tell the truth *some time*: they have been
burying him every year, every month since he became emperor.
And yet it is no wonder if they are wrong and nobody knows his
fated hour, for nobody ever thought that he existed. Do what
must be done:

Give him over to slaughter, let his better reign in the
vacated court.'

But Clotho said 'By George, I was wanting to give him a fraction 3

uolebam, dum hos pauculos qui supersunt ciuitate donaret'
 (constituerat enim omnes Graecos, Gallos, Hispanos, Britannos
 togatos uidere) 'sed quoniam placet aliquos peregrinos in semen
 15 relinqui et tu ita iubes fieri, fiat.' aperit tum capsulam et tres 4
 fusos profert: unus erat Augurini, alter Babae, tertius Claudii.
 'hos' inquit 'tres uno anno exiguis interuallis temporum diuisos
 mori iubebo, nec illum incomitatum dimittam. non oportet enim
 eum, qui modo se tot milia hominum sequentia uidebat, tot
 20 praecedentia, tot circumfusa, subito solum destitui. contentus
 erit his interim conuictoribus.'

4 haec ait et turpi conuoluens stamina fuso 1
 abruptit stolidae regalia tempora uitae.
 at Lachesis, redimita comas, ornata capillos,
 Pieria crinem lauro frontemque coronans,
 5 candida de niueo subtemina uellere sumit 5
 felici moderanda manu, quae ducta colorem
 assumpsere nouum. mirantur pensa sorores:
 mutatur uilis pretioso lana metallo,
 aurea formoso descendunt saecula filo.
 10 nec modus est illis: felicia uellera ducunt 10
 et gaudent implere manus: sunt dulcia pensa.
 sponte sua festinat opus nulloque labore
 mollia contorto descendunt stamina fuso;
 uincunt Tithoni, uincunt et Nestoris annos.
 15 Phoebus adest cantuque iuuat gaudetque futuris 15
 et laetus nunc plectra mouet, nunc pensa ministrat:
 detinet intentas cantu fallitque laborem.

15 tum α: tunc Lω 16 Babae Muretus coll. Sen. Epp. 15.9: bad(a)e (B-L) αω
 17 tres α: tris V²L: utrumque ω 18 iubebo α: iubebo uel iubeo ω 19 modo
 se tot milia hominum sequentia αl: tot milia modo hominum se sequentia s
 20 circumfusa βω: circumfuso S destitui αω: distitui V 21 his interim αl:
 interim his s 1 stamina βω: stamine S 2 abruptit αl: abrumpit s 3 at
 αω: Et L comas βω: comes S 5 subte(g)mina α(= S^cV)l: subte(g)mine
 Ss: subtegmira L uellere αl: uellera s 9 formoso αω: formosa V
 10 ducunt α: dicunt V: utrumque l 11 manus αl: manus s 13 contorto
 α: contorto uel cum torto ω 17 intentas Lω: intentus α

of time more, until he had endowed with citizenship those tiny few who are left over' (for he had resolved to see all Greeks, Gauls, Spaniards and Britons wearing the toga) 'but since it is your pleasure that some foreigners should be left for propagation, and since you command it to be so, so be it'. Then she opened a little box and brought out three spindles; one was that of Augurinus, the second of Baba, the third of Claudius. 'These three' she said, 'I shall command to die within one year separated by diminutive intervals of time, and I shall not send *him* away without company. For a man who just now used to see so many thousands of men following him, so many thousands preceding him, and so many thousands pouring round him, must not suddenly be abandoned on his own. He will be satisfied with these bosom companions in the meanwhile.'

- 4 So she spoke, and, twirling the thread on an ugly spool, she snapped off the duration of that right royal lumpish life. But Lachesis, with tresses tied and locks adorned, garlanding her hair and brow with Pierian laurel, plucked shining white yarn from a snowy fleece to fashion it with a lucky touch; yet when teased out it suddenly took on a wonderful colour. The Sisters marvelled at their stints: the common wool changed to precious metal; a Golden Age spun down on the beautiful thread. And there was no end to it: the fleeces they teased out were lucky; and they delighted to fill their hands: their stints were charming. The work sped of its own accord and with no toil the soft threads spun down on the twisting spool. They surpassed the years of Tithonus and of Nestor. Phoebus was at hand, and helped with his singing, and delighted in the years to come, and now joyfully plied his quill, now joyfully handed them their stints. He kept them intent on his singing and beguiled

dumque nimis citharam fraternaue carmina laudant,
 plus solito neuere manus humanaue fata
 20 laudatum transcendit opus. 'ne demite, Parcae' 20
 Phoebus ait 'uincat mortalis tempora uitae
 ille mihi similis uultu similisque decore
 nec cantu nec uoce minor. felicia lassis
 saecula praestabit legumque silentia rumpet.
 25 qualis discutiens fugientia Lucifer astra 25
 aut qualis surgit redeuntibus Hesperus astris,
 qualis, cum primum tenebris Aurora solutis
 induxit rubicunda diem, Sol aspicit orbem
 lucidus et primos a carcere concitat axes:
 30 talis Caesar adest, talem iam Roma Neronem 30
 aspiciet. flagrat nitidus fulgore remisso
 uultus et adfuso ceruix formosa capillo.'

haec Apollo. at Lachesis, quae et ipsa homini formosissimo 2
 faueret, fecit illud plena manu et Neroni multos annos de suo
 35 donat. Claudium autem iubent omnes

χαίροντας, εὐφημοῦντας ἐκπέμπειν δόμων.

et ille quidem animam ebullit, et ex eo desiit uiuere uideri.
 expirauit autem dum comoedos audit, ut scias me non sine causa
 illos timere. ultima uox eius haec inter homines audita est, cum 3
 40 maiorem sonitum emisisset illa parte, qua facilius loquebatur:
 'uae me, puto, concacauit me.' quod an fecerit, nescio; omnia
 certe concacauit.

5 quae in terris postea sint acta superuacuum est referre. scitis 1
 enim optime, nec periculum est ne excidant quae memoriae

22 decore *al*: colore *s* 23 lassus *α*: lassus *uel* lapsis *ω* 26 astris *al*: albis *s*
 30 Caesar adest *al*: adest Caesar *s* 31 flagrat *α*(= *SV^aL*): fragrat *Vs*
 34 illud *α*: illud *uel* id *uel* illa *ω*: *del. Buecheler* 35 donat *al*: donauit *s*
 36 χαίροντας εὐφημοῦντας *Iunius*: χαίρονταῖς εὐφημούνταῖς *α*: χαίρονταῖς
 εὐφημούνταῖς *V*: χαίροντας ... δόμων *Eur. Cresph. fr. 449 N^a* 37 ex eo *S*: eo *βl*:
 ex hoc *s* 38 me *al*: *om. s* 39 inter homines *al*: *om. s* 41 u(a)e *α*: u(a)e
uel ut *uel* heu *ω* concacauit *L*: concacauit *α*: *utrumque ω* an *Ss*: autem *V*: ante
L: autem *uel* ante *l* 42 concacauit *L*: concacauit *α*: *utrumque ω* 1 q.i.t.p.
 sint a.s.e.r. *al*: q. sunt p.a.i.t.r.s.e. *s* 2 quae memoriae *ω*: memoriae quae
Par. 8542, Buecheler

their toil; and while they praised their brother's lyre and songs extravagantly, their hands had spun more than usual, and the commended work exceeded human destinies. 'Take nothing away, Fates,' Phoebus said, 'let the duration of human life be surpassed by him who is my like in looks and grace, and my equal in voice and song. He will guarantee an era of prosperity to the weary and break the silence of the laws. Like the Morning Star, as he rises scattering the stars in flight, or like the Evening Star, as he rises when the stars return (at dusk), like the gleaming Sun, as soon as rosy Dawn has dispelled the shadows and led in the day, as he gazes on the world and begins to whip up his chariot from the starting-barrier: such a Caesar is at hand, such a Nero shall Rome now gaze upon. His radiant face blazes with gentle brilliance and his shapely neck with flowing hair.'

So Apollo. Then Lachesis, because she too fancied such a very 2 shapely fellow, behaved open-handedly and gave Nero many years from her own supply. But as for Claudius, they ordered everybody

to carry him out from the house with rejoicing and fair-speaking.

And he did indeed gurgle his life out, and from then on ceased to have even the appearance of existence. However, he breathed his last while he was listening to some comic actors, so you know I have good reason to be afraid of them. This was the last utterance 3 of his to be heard in this world, after he had let out a louder sound from that part by which he found it easier to communicate: 'Oh dear, I think I've shit myself.' I rather suspect he did. He certainly shat up everything else.

5 It is superfluous to report the subsequent proceedings on 1 earth, for you know them perfectly well, and there is no danger of the events which imprinted the people's joy on the memory being

- gaudium publicum impresserunt: nemo felicitatis suae obliuiscitur. in caelo quae acta sint audite: fides penes auctorem erit.
- 5 nuntiatur Ioui uenisse quendam bonae staturae, bene canum; nescio quid illum minari, assidue enim caput mouere; pedem dextrum trahere. quaesisse se cuius nationis esset: respondi nescio quid perturbato sono et uoce confusa; non intellegere se linguam eius: nec Graecum esse nec Romanum nec ullius gentis
- 10 notae. tum Iuppiter Herculem, qui totum orbem terrarum pererrauerat et nosse uidebatur omnes nationes, iubet ire et explorare quorum hominum esset. tum Hercules primo aspectu sane perturbatus est, ut qui etiam non omnia monstra timuerit. ut uidit noui generis faciem, insolitum incessum, uocem nullius
- 15 terrestris animalis sed qualis esse marinis beluis solet, raucam et implicatam, putauit sibi tertium decimum laborem uenisse. diligentius intuenti uisus est quasi homo. accessit itaque et quod facillimum fuit Graeculo, ait:

τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν, ποίη πόλις ἡδὲ τοκῆς;

- 20 Claudius gaudet esse illic philologos homines: sperat futurum aliquem historiis suis locum. itaque et ipse Homérico uersu Caesarem se esse significans ait:

Ἰλιόθεν με φέρων ἄνεμος Κικόνεσσι πέλασσαν

(erat autem sequens uersus uerior, aequae Homericus:

- 25 ἐνθα δ' ἐγὼ πόλιν ἔπραθον, ὤλεσα δ' αὐτούς).

3 impresserunt β(= VL): impresserant V³ (unde impresserat Iunius): impresserit S (unde impresserit Buecheler fortasse recte): impressit s 4 sint S: sunt βω
6 illum min(it)ari s: illuminari S: illum mirari βl Assidue uox ultima
paginae 245 codicis S, Assidue uox prima paginae insequentis enim al: enim illum
s 7 quaesisse se al: om. se s respondi βl: respondi se S: respondi
illum s: respondi sibi Gertz 9 nec grecum al: nec illum grecum s
gentis al: om. s 10 qui α: quia Ll terrarum al: om. s 11-12 ire et
explorare Ss: ire explorare βl 12 tum α: tum uel tunc ω 12-13 aspectu
sane al: sane (uel sanus) aspectu s 13 non omnia ω: uarie uexata timuerit
α: timuerit uel timuit uel timuerat ω 16 implicatam α(= S^cVL): implicitam
ωω 16-17 diligentius al: diligentius autem s 19 ποίη Gertz: ποι η S:
πωποιη V: πω η L: πόθι τοι codd. Homeri Od. 1. 170, Rhenanus 20 esse illic al: illic
esse s 22 Caesarem se esse significans al: significans se esse Caesarem s
23 Hom. Od. 9.39 agnouit Iunius 24 aequae homericus ωω: nonnullis suspecta
25 Hom. Od. 9.40 dispexit Iunius

forgotten: nobody forgets his own good fortune. Listen to the proceedings in heaven: vouching for them will be the responsibility of my informant. A message was given to Jupiter that there had arrived someone of good build and very white-haired; he was making some kind of threat, because he was continually wagging his head; he was dragging his right foot. The messenger said he had inquired his nationality; he had made some reply with a confused sound and in an unintelligible voice; the messenger did not understand his language: he was neither Greek nor Roman nor of any known race. Then Jupiter ordered Hercules, who had wandered over the whole earth and apparently got to know all its nations, to go and find out what manner of men he belonged to. Then at first sight Hercules was really shocked, like a man who had had occasion to fear monsters, but not yet all of them. When he encountered the shape of unprecedented kind, the unusual gait, the voice like that of no land-animal but typical of sea-beasts, hoarse and inarticulate, he thought that his thirteenth labour had arrived. On more critical scrutiny it gave the impression of something like a human being. So Hercules went up to him and, as was extremely easy for a Greekling, said

Who are you, and from where? What kind are your city and parents?

Claudius rejoiced that there were men of letters there; he hoped that there would be some place for his historical works. So he too used a verse of Homer to explain that he was Caesar and said

The wind, bearing me from Ilium, brought me to the Cicones.

(But the next verse, likewise from Homer, was truer:

There I sacked the city and destroyed the people.)

- 6 et imposuerat Herculi minime uafro, nisi fuisset illic Febris, 1
 quae fano suo relicto sola cum illo uenerat: ceteros omnes deos
 Romae reliquerat. 'iste' inquit 'mera mendacia narrat. ego tibi
 dico, quae cum illo tot annis uixi: Luguduni natus est, Munati
 5 municipem uides. quod tibi narro, ad sextum decimum lapidem
 natus est a Vienna, Gallus germanus. itaque quod Gallum facere
 oportebat, Romam cepit. hunc ego tibi recipio Luguduni
 natum, ubi Licinus multis annis regnauit. tu autem, qui plura
 loca calcasti quam ullus mulio perpetuarius, [Lugudunenses]
 10 scire debes multa milia inter Xanthum et Rhodanum interesse.'
 excandescit hoc loco Claudius et quanto potest murmure iras- 2
 citur. quid diceret nemo intellegebat. ille autem Febrim duci
 iubebat. illo gestu solutae manus, et ad hoc unum satis firmæ,
 quo decollare homines solebat, iusserat illi collum praecidi. pu-
 15 tares omnes illius esse libertos: adeo illum nemo curabat.
 7 tum Hercules 'audi me' inquit 'tu desine fatuari. uenisti huc, 1
 ubi mures ferrum rodunt. citius mihi uerum, ne tibi alogias
 excutiam.' et quo terribilior esset, tragicus fit et ait:
 'exprome propere sede qua genitus cluas, 2

1 Herculi homini minime uafro *Iunius*: minime fabro α: minimo discrimine
 fabros *Li*: minimo discrimine fabulam s 2 sola cum *Loo*: solatum α omnes
 al: om. s 3-4 tibi dico al: dico tibi s 4 annis α: annis uel annos ω (et
 7) luguduni *S*: lugduni βω Munatii *Rhenanus*: Marci αω: Planci *Gronov*
 5 crede ante quod add. s 6 natus est a uienna al: a uienna natus est s
 germanus al: germanicus s facere al: om. s 7 tibi recipio al: reddo tibi s
 8 Licinus restituit *Buecheler*: licinius α: uarie deprauatum in ω, unde licinus *Par.*
 1936 9 ullus αω: ullius *V* lugudunenses *S*: lugdunenses β: lugdunenses uel
 lugdunensis ω: Lugdunensis *Gertz*: seclussit *Buecheler* 10 debes *S* codd. ω nonnulli:
 debes et β codd. ω plerique 12 quid diceret *S*: Quid dicebat *V* (unde quidquid
 dicebat *Rosbach*): Quod dicebat *L*: Quid uel Quod ω: diceret s: dicebat l febrim
 α: februm *L*: febrim uel febrem ω 12-14 ille autem ... praecidi: sic distinxit
Rosbach cod. *V* secutus; aliter *Buecheler*, iusserat ... praecidi glossam arbitratus
 13 iubebat βω: iuuebat *S* unum βl: manu *S*: minus uel munus s 14 quo α
 codd. ω plerique: quod *V* codd. ω nonnulli 14-15 -bat ... cura- om. s 2 uerum
 ne tibi alogias al: uerum dic ne alogias tibi s alogias α codd. ω plerique: algias
L codd. ω nonnulli 4 exprome propere *Rhenanus*: expreme propere αω: expromere
 propere *Rhenanus* sede qua genitus *Rhenanus*: sed qua genitus al: qua
 genitus sede s: stirpe qua genitus *Par.* 8542: gente qua genitus *Rhenanus* cluas
 α: duas uel dicas ω

6 And he would certainly have taken in Hercules who was not 1
exactly shrewd, if there had not been present the goddess Fever,
who, abandoning her shrine, had been the only one to come with
him: she had left all the other gods at Rome. 'His tale' she said, 'is
bare-faced lies. I, who have lived with him for so many years, am
telling you: he was born at Lyons, you see a fellow-townsmen of
Munatius. I tell you, he was born at the sixteenth milestone from
Vienne, an *echt* Gaul. So he did what a Gaul was obliged to do
and captured Rome. I give you my pledge that he was born at
Lyons, where Licinus was king for many years. But you, who
have tramped over more spots than any long-distance mule-
driver, ought to know that many miles intervene between the
Xanthus and the Rhône.' At this point Claudius glowed white 2
hot and showed his anger with the most muttering he could
muster. Nobody tried to understand what he was saying. In fact
he kept ordering Fever to be taken away for punishment. With
that gesture he employed to decapitate people, made by his
shaking hand, which was steady enough for this single purpose,
he had given the order for her neck to be severed. You would
think they were all his own freedmen: so little attention did
anyone pay to him.

7 Then Hercules said 'Listen to me! You stop playing the fool! 1
You have come to the place where mice gnaw iron. Tell me the
truth, and quickly, or I'll shake your nonsense out of you.' And to
make a more terrifying impact he donned the mask of tragedy
and said:

'Disclose in haste the abode wherein thou claimst thy birth, 2

- 5 hoc ne peremptus stipite ad terram accidas:
 haec claua reges saepe mactauit feros.
 quid nunc profatu uocis incerto sonas?
 quae patria, quae gens mobile eduxit caput? 5
 edissere. equidem regna tergemini petens
 10 longinqua regis, unde ab Hesperio mari
 Inachiam ad urbem nobile aduexi pecus,
 uidi duobus imminens fluuiis iugum,
 quod Phoebus ortu semper obuerso uidet, 10
 ubi Rhodanus ingens amne praerapido fluit
 15 Ararque, dubitans quo suos cursus agat,
 tacitus quietis adluit ripas uadis.
 estne illa tellus spiritus altrix tui?
- haec satis animose et fortiter, nihilo minus mentis suae non est et 3
 timet $\mu\omega\rho\omicron\upsilon \pi\lambda\eta\gamma\acute{\eta}\nu$. Claudius, ut uidit uirum ualentem, oblitus
 20 nugarum, intellexit neminem Romae sibi parem fuisse, illic non
 habere se idem gratiae: gallum in suo sterquilino plurimum
 posse. itaque quantum intellegi potuit, haec uisus est dicere: 'ego 4
 te, fortissime deorum Hercule, speraui mihi adfuturum apud
 alios, et si qui a me notorem petisset, te fui nominaturus, qui me
 25 optime nosti. nam, si memoria repetis, ego eram qui tibi ante
 templum tuum ius dicebam totis diebus mense Iulio et Augusto.
 tu scis quantum illic miseriarum contulerim, cum cauidicos 5
 audirem diem et noctem. in quod si incidisses, ualde fortis licet tibi
- 6 claua $\alpha\omega$: daua *V* 7 quid ... profatu αl : qui *uel* quem ... profane *s*
 8 quae patria quae gens αl : quae gens quae patria *s* caput $\beta\omega$: capud *S*
 9 regna tergemini $\alpha\omega$: regna regnanter *V* petens *L*: potens α : *utrumque* ω
 11 Inachiam $\alpha\omega$: Inachiam *V* nobile $\alpha\omega$: mobile *V* 15 Ararque α :
 -que ω : Arar quae *V* 16 ripas $\alpha\omega$: rapidas *V* uadis αs : undis *LI*
 18 animose $\alpha\omega$: animo se *V* suae non est αl : non est suae *s* 20 romae
 sibi *S*: sibi romae $\beta\omega$ 21 habere se idem βl : haberes eodem *S*: se
 habere idem (*uel* idcirco) *s* sterquilino *S*: sterquilinio $\beta\omega$ 22 posse αl :
 ualere *s* intellegi potuit αl : potuit intelligi *s* 23 hercule *S*: hercules
 β (= *V²L*) ω : herculus *V* 24 si qui α : si quis *L\omega* 25 memoria *Ss*: memo-
 riam βl tibi $\alpha\omega$: *Tiburi peringeniose Buecheler coll. Suet. Aug. 72.2* 27 con-
 tulerim αl : pertulerim *s*: tulerim *Haase*: <te>cum tulerim *Rossbach* cum αl :
 dum *s* 28 quod $\alpha\omega$: quo *uel* quos *codd. l nonnulli* ualde fortis licet tibi αl :
 licet ualde fortis tibi *s*

lest thou collapse to the ground felled by this tree-trunk: this club hath often slaughtered savage kings. What noises makest thou now with indistinct utterance of thy voice? What homeland, what race reared thy restless head? Discourse! When myself making for the distant kingdoms of the triform king, whence I drove the famous cattle from the Western sea to the city of Inachus, I saw a ridge beetling over two rivers, which Phoebus always looks full in the face as he rises, where flows the mighty Rhône with rapidest current, and the Saône, doubting in which direction to drive its course, noiselessly washes the banks with tranquil shallows. Is that land the nurse of thy life-breath?

This he said with spirit and courage enough; all the same he 3
was not in his right mind and feared a *coup de fou*. When Claudius looked at the mighty man he stopped quibbling and realized that though nobody was his equal at Rome, in that place he did not have the same prestige: a cock is undisputed master on his own dunghill. So as far as he could be understood, this is what he 4
seemed to say: 'I hoped that you, Hercules strongest of gods, would be there to help me in front of others, and if anyone asked me for a sponsor, I was intending to nominate you who have got to know me very well. For, if you search in your memory, it was I who used to dispense the law, you know, in front of your temple for entire days in the month of July and of August. You know 5
what a pile of pathetic complaints I sifted there, when I was listening to the barristers day and night. If you had fallen into that, mighty strong though you think you are, you would have prefer-

- uidearis, maluisses cloacas Augeae purgare: multo plus ego ster-
 30 coris exhausti. sed quoniam uolo*'
 8 '*non mirum quod in curiam impetum fecisti: nihil tibi clausi 1
 est. modo dic nobis qualem deum istum fieri uelis. Ἐπικούρειος
 θεός non potest esse: οὔτε αὐτὸς πρᾶγμα ἔχει τι οὔτε ἄλλοις παρέχει.
 Stoicus? quomodo potest "rotundus" esse, ut ait Varro, "sine
 5 capite, sine praeputio"? est aliquid in illo Stoici dei, iam uideo:
 nec cor nec caput habet. si mehercules a Saturno petisset hoc 2
 beneficium, cuius mensem toto anno celebrauit Saturnalicus
 princeps, non tulisset. illum deum <induci> ab Ioue, quem,
 quantum quidem in illo fuit, damnauit incesti! Silanum enim
 10 generum suum occidit. "oro, per <quid>?" quod sororem suam,
 festiuissimam omnium puellarum, quam omnes Venerem
 uocarent, maluit Iunonem uocare. "quare" inquit, "quaero 3
 enim, sororem suam?" stulte, stude: Athenis dimidium licet,
 Alexandriae totum. quia "Romae" inquis, "mures molas lin-
 15 gunt", hic nobis curua corrigit? quid in cubiculo suo faciat
 nesci[o]et: iam "caeli scrutatur plagas". deus fieri uult? parum

29 Augeae (-iae *Rhenanius*) *Buecheler*: auge al: om. s plus ego al: ego plus s
 30 quoniam uolo al: om. s hic *hiare orationem perspexerunt Rhenanus et Iunius*,
quibus obsecuti sunt edd. fere omnes 1 non mirum al: non miror s fecisti ao:
 fecisse V clausi S: clusi β: cl(a)usi l: clausum s 2 deum i. f. uelis al: istum
 d. f. uel(is) grecum uel istum d. uel grecum f. s 3 ἔχει τι *Haase*: ἔχει *Rhenanus*,
qui uerba Graeca restituit (Diog. Laert. 10.139): -εχει- S: -εχειτ- V: -εχει- L: πρᾶγμα
ἔχει Buecheler αλλοις S: αλλοι L: αλοι V 4-5 *Varro Men. 583 B.* 6 caput
 βω: caput S mehercules α: me hercule *Lao* 7 mensem βω: mense in S
 Saturnalicus (-tius *Iunius*) *Buecheler*: saturnaliaeius α: saturnalia eius l: et
 saturnalia eius s: om. *Par. 6395: del. Lipsius* 8 non al: om. s illum deum ao:
 induci suppl. *Eden*: fieri suppl. *Mariotti*: illud, nedum *Gronov* a(b)ioue βω:
 abiouem S quem *Fromond*: qui ao 9 illo β: illos S: se s incesti S:
 incesto β *Sillanum L*: Siluanum α: utrumque s 10 oro, per <quid>? *Russo*:
interpellanti attribuit Eden: Oro per quod α: Oro per quod (uel quid) l: Oro (uel Ora)
 propter quid quia s: propter(ea) quod *Buecheler*: alii alia 11 puellarum ao:
 puellarum V 12 uocarent al: uocant V²: uocabant s quare ... (16)
 plagas om. s inquit al: inquis *Lipsius* 13 stude α: studere L: utrumque l
 14 quia romae al: quiromae V 14-15 Romae ... lingunt *distinxit Eden*
 14 inquis α: inquis uel inquit l molas al: moras V 15 corrigit *Sonnlag*:
 corrigit al: corrigis *Mert. 300* 16 nesciet: iam *Eden*: nescio et iam α: nescio et
 iam (uel etiam) l: nescit *Buecheler* *Ennius Sc. fr. 244 V²* d. f. uult? sic
interpungendum opinatur Russo

red to cleanse the sewers of Augeas: I drained off a great deal more bullshit. But since I wish*

- 8 ‘*it’s not surprising that you have burst into the senate-house: 1
nothing is barred to you. Only tell us what kind of god you want
your protégé to be. An Epicurean god he cannot be: such neither
has any trouble himself nor gives any to others. A Stoic god? How
can he be “globular”, as Varro says, “with no head, with no
foreskin”? There is something of a Stoic god in him, I see it now:
he has neither intelligence nor individuality. Hercules! If he had 2
asked this favour from Saturn, whose month he celebrated all the
year round as Carnival Emperor, he would not have received it.
Is he to be introduced as a god by *Jupiter* – Jupiter whom, as far
as he could, he convicted of incest by killing his son-in-law
Silanus? “Please tell me: why?” Because of his sister, the most
delightful girl of all, whom everyone, they say, called Venus:
Silanus preferred to call her Juno. “Why his own sister?” he says, 3
“I’d love to know.” Study, stupid! You can go half-way at
Athens, all the way at Alexandria. If it’s true, as you say, that “at
Rome the mice lick the millstones”, will this be the man to force
the crooked straight for us? He will not know what he is doing in
his own bedroom: he is already “searching the heaven’s zones”.
He wants to become a god? Is it not enough that he has a temple

est quod templum in Britannia habet, quod <hunc> nunc barbari colunt et ut deum orant $\mu\omega\rho\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \tau\upsilon\chi\epsilon\iota\nu$?

- 9 tandem Ioui uenit in mentem, priuatis intra curiam morantibus <senatoribus non licere> sententiam dicere nec disputare. 'ego' inquit 'p.c., interrogare uobis permiseram, uos mera mapalia fecistis. uolo ut seruetis disciplinam curiae. hic, qualiscumque est, quid de nobis existimauit?' illo dimisso primus interrogatur sententiam Ianus pater. is designatus erat in kal. Iulias postmeridianus consul, homo, quantum uia sua fert, qui semper uidet $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\ \pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\sigma\sigma\omega\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\sigma\omega$. is multa diserte, quod in foro uiu<eb>at, dixit, quae notarius persequi non potuit et ideo non
10 refero, ne aliis uerbis ponam quae ab illo dicta sunt. multa dixit de magnitudine deorum: non debere hunc uulgo dari honorem. 'olim' inquit 'magna res erat deum fieri: iam Fabam mimum fecisti. itaque ne uidear in personam, non in rem dicere sententiam, censeo ne quis post hunc diem deus fiat ex his, qui
15 $\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\upsilon\eta\rho\eta\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\rho\pi\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \xi\delta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$ aut ex his, quos alit $\zeta\epsilon\iota\delta\omega\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha$. qui contra hoc senatus consultum deus factus dictus pictusue erit, eum dedi laruis et proximo munere inter nouos auctoratos ferulis uapulare placet.' proximus interrogatur sententiam Diespiter 4

17 <hunc> nunc *dub. Russo: nunc al: eum s: hunc Lipsius* 1 tandem *Loo: tantum a* 1-2 morantibus $\beta\omega$: morentibus *S* senatoribus non licere *suppl. Buecheler: non licere patribus eodem loco suppl. Mariotti: non licere post dicere Haase: alii alia* 3 interrogare $\omega\omega$: *fortasse* interrogari permiseram α : per- uel pro- ω 3-4 mera mapalia (pamalia *V*) fecistis *al: mera uel mores turbastis s* 5 existimauit *al: ex(is)timabit s* 6 pater is designatus *Loo: pateris designatur a* 7 quantum uia sua fert $\omega\omega$: quantumuis uaser *Rhenanus* 8 *Hom. Il. 3.109 agnouit Rhenanus* 8-9 quod ... uiuebat *Buecheler: quod ... uiuat a*: quom ... uiuat *Haupt* 10 refero *S: fero β : pono s* ponam *al: referam s* 11 dari honorem *al: honorem dari s* 12 Fabam mimum *Eden: fabam mimum Buecheler coll. Cic. Att. 1.16.13: $\Phi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\mu\alpha$ mimum Watt: fama mimum S: fama nimium β : fama nimium uel minimum ω : fama numinum minui ut uid. Par. 8717* 13 fecisti $\omega\omega$: fecistis *Ball. 136, edd. plerique* rem $\omega\omega$: re *V* 15 *Hom. Il. 6.142 agnouit Rhenanus* ex his quos $\omega\omega$: ex quod (d sub rasura) *V: ex his quas Helm* aut ... $\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha$ secluit *D. Heinsius* 16 consultum $\omega\omega$: consilium *V* factus dictus $\omega\omega$: factus fictus *Iuuius: fictus dictus Heinze: factus fictus dictus suspicatur Buecheler* 17 et *S: sed β : ex s* 18 interrogatur *al: interrogatus s*

in Britain, that savages now worship him and, as if he were a god, pray "to happen on the fool when well-disposed"?'

- 9 At last it occurred to Jupiter that senators were not allowed to 1
put a motion or to debate while members of the public lingered
inside the senate-house. 'I gave you permission to ask questions,
honourable members' he said, 'you have made an utter shambles.
I require you to keep the rules of procedure of the senate-house.
What opinion has this man formed of us, whatever his status?' 2
After Claudius had been sent away, the first to be asked his
opinion was Father Janus. He had been appointed to take office
on the following first of July as consul for the afternoon, a fellow
with simultaneous foresight and hindsight – as far as his own
street goes. He was living in the Forum and so spoke a lot glibly,
which the shorthand secretary could not keep up with and which
therefore I do not report, so as not to put in other words the
things that were said by him. He spoke a lot about the greatness 3
of the gods: this honour should not be given to all and sundry.
'Once' he said, 'it was a great thing to be made a god: now you
have made it a "Bean" farce. Therefore, so as not to appear to
express an opinion on a question of personality rather than
principle, I move that after this day nobody be made a god from
these who "eat the fruit of the soil" or from these whom "the
grain-giving soil" nourishes. Anyone who is made, mentioned or
portrayed as a god contrary to this decree of the senate should be
handed over to the goblins and take a thrashing with canes
among the raw recruits at the next gladiatorial show.' Next 4

- Vicae Potae filius, et ipse designatus consul, nummulariolus. hoc
 20 quaestu se sustinebat: uendere ciuitatulas solebat. ad hunc belle
 accessit Hercules et auriculam illi tetigit. censet itaque in haec
 uerba: 'cum diuus Claudius et diuum Augustum sanguine con- 5
 tingat nec minus diuam Augustam auiam suam, quam ipse
 deam esse iussit, longeque omnes mortales sapientia antecellat
 25 sitque e re publica esse aliquem qui cum Romulo possit "fer-
 uentia rapa uorare", censeo uti diuus Claudius ex hac die deus sit
 ita uti ante eum quis optimo iure factus sit, eamque rem ad
 Metamorphosis Ouidi adiciendam.' uariae erant sententiae, et 6
 uidebatur Claudius sententiam uincere. Hercules enim, qui uide-
 30 ret ferrum suum in igne esse, modo huc modo illuc cursabat et
 aiebat: 'noli mihi inuidere, mea res agitur; deinde tu si quid
 uolueris, in uicem faciam: manus manum lauat.'
- 10 tunc diuus Augustus surrexit sententiae suae loco dicendae et 1
 summa facundia disseruit: 'ego' inquit 'p.c., uos testes habeo, ex
 quo deus factus sum, nullum me uerbum fecisse: semper meum
 negotium ago. et non possum amplius dissimulare et dolorem,
 5 quem grauiorem pudor facit, continere. in hoc terra marique 2
 pacem peperit? ideo ciuilia bella compescui? ideo legibus urbem
 fundauit, operibus ornaui, ut – ? quid dicam, p.c., non inuenio:
 omnia infra indignationem uerba sunt. confugiendum est itaque

19 uice uel nice pot(a)e ω: nic(a)e pote α nummulariolus *LI*: numulariolus *V*:
 nummariolus *S*⁵ 20 ad hunc *S*: ad huc *V*: ad hunc uel adhuc *s*: ad hoc *LI*
 belle *Par. 8501A*: uelle *al*: om. *s* 22 diuus Claudius ω: diuus et claudius *L*
 23 nec *al*: et non *s* ipse ω: ipsam *V* 24 mortales ω: mortalis *V*
 sapientia β: sapientiam *S* antecellat ω: antecellit *V* 25 sitque e r(e)
 p(ublica) *al*: intersitque r(ei) p(ublicae) *s* 25–26 feruentia *L*ω: feruenti *V*:
 feruenta *S*⁴(u-*S*) 26 uti *S*⁵: ut β 27 uti ante eum *LI*: ut iamte eum *S*: ut
 iam ante eum *s*: utiamtecum *V* quis ω: qui *Maehly* optimo *S*⁵: optime
 β 28 metamorphosis (–*orf*–*V*) β: moetamorfoſis *S*: met(h)amorphosim *s*
 ouidi *S*: ouidia β: ouidii uel ouidia ω adiciendam *S*⁵: dicendam β
 29 sententiam α: sententia *L*: utrumque ω 29–30 uideret α: uideret uel
 uidebat ω 30 igne α: ignem *V*: utrumque ω 31 aiebat β: adiebat *S*:
 aiebat uel agebat ω agitur deinde *al*: agit te inde *s* tuas: om. *LI* 1 tunc
 α: tum *L*: utrumque ω suae ω: suo *Mert. 297, Guelf. 299* 2 ego inquit *S*⁵:
 om. β 3 adeo ante semper *add. s* 4 ¹et *al*: set uel sed *s* 7 ornaui *al*:
 ordinaui *s* ut α: et *L*ω

Diespiter, the son of Vica Pota, was asked his opinion. He too was a consul elect, a small-time moneylender. He used to maintain himself with a livelihood by making a practice of selling citizenship perks. Hercules made a pretty advance to him and touched his ear-lobe. So Diespiter framed his motion in these words: 'Since the deified Claudius is connected by blood with both the deified Augustus and no less with the deified Augusta his grandmother, whom he himself commanded to be a goddess, and since he far surpasses all mortal men in wisdom, and since it is in accordance with the interests of the state for there to be someone who can "gobble steaming turnips" with Romulus, I move that from this day the deified Claudius be a god just like anyone before him who became one with the best justification, and that this event be appended to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.' Proposals were diverse, and Claudius seemed to be winning the decision. For Hercules, who could see that his iron was heating in the fire, kept scurrying this way and that and saying: 'Don't begrudge me; my own fate is at stake. Then if *you* want something, I will return the favour: one hand washes the other.'

10 Then the deified Augustus rose to his feet at his turn for expressing his opinion, and discoursed with the utmost eloquence. 'I have you, honourable members, as witnesses' he said, 'that from the time I became a god I have not uttered a word. I always mind my own business. And yet I can no longer pretend, or restrain the grief which shame makes heavier to bear. Was it to this end that I secured peace by land and sea? Was it for this that I checked the civil wars? Was it for this that I gave the city of Rome a foundation of laws, and an embellishment of public works, so that – ? What should I say, honourable members? I find nothing. All words fall short of my indignation. So I

- ad Messalae Coruini, disertissimi uiri, illam sententiam “pudet
 10 imperii”. hic, p.c., qui uobis non posse uidetur muscam excitare, 3
 tam facile homines occidebat quam canis adsidit. sed quid ego de
 tot ac talibus uiris dicam? non uacat deflare publicas clades
 intuenti domestica mala. itaque illa omittam, haec referam; nam
 etiam si σφυρὸν meum [Graece] nescit, ego scio: ἔγγιον γόνυ
 15 κνήμης. iste quem uidetis, per tot annos sub meo nomine latens, 4
 hanc mihi gratiam retulit, ut duas Iulias proneptes meas
 occideret, alteram ferro, alteram fame; unum abnepotem L.
 Silanum: uideris, Iuppiter, an in causa mala – certe in tua, si
 aequos futurus es. dic mihi, diue Claudī: quare quemquam ex
 20 his, quos quasque occidisti, antequam de causa cognosceres,
 antequam audires, damnasti? hoc ubi fieri solet? in caelo non fit.
 11 ‘ecce Iuppiter, qui tot annos regnat, uni Volcano crus fregit, 1
 quem

ῥίψε ποδὸς τεταγὼν ἀπὸ βηλοῦ θεσπεσίῳ,

- et iratus fuit uxori et suspendit illam: numquid occidit? tu
 5 Messalinam, cuius aequae auunculus maior eram quam tuus,
 occidisti. “nescio” inquis? di tibi malefaciant: adeo istuc turpius
 est quod nescisti quam quod occidisti. C. Caesarem non desiit 2
 mortuum persequi. occiderat ille socerum: hic et generum.

9 ad messal(a)e Ss: ad me ad mesale V: ā me ad messalae L: a me ad messale I
 disertissimi uiri al: u.d. s pudet Ss: precipet V: precipit ius Ll 11 adsidit
 S: excidit V codd. l plerique: exsidit L codd. l nonnulli: frust(r)um absceidit s
 12 ac talibus Ss: actibus βl 13 illa al: illas s referam ω: referem l
 14 σφυρὸν meum Eden: sura mea Russo: sormea S: f(ph- L)ormea βl: soror mea s
 grece ω: om. Par. 8717, Par. 6395: del. Sonntag 14-15 ἔγγιον γόνυ κνήμης
 disperxit Buecheler 16 iulias al: sicilias V: auias s proneptes s: proneptes al
 17 ferro ... fame al: fame ... ferro s abnepotem S: ab- uel ob- s: ad- βl
 18 silanum α: silandum V: sillanum ω 19 aec uos S: haecuos V: hic inter uos
 L: hic inter nos (uel uos) l: hic apud nos s futurus es S: futurus est βl: facturus
 est s 20 cognosceres αs: agnosceres Ll 21 hoc ubi fieri solet? in caelo non
 fit Ss: h.f.s.i.c? n.f. βl 1 regnat uni ω: regnatum V uolcano S: uulcano β:
 utrumque ω 3 Hom. Il. 1.591 agnouit Rhenanus 4 iratus fuit uxori et al:
 iratus uxori s 6 istuc S: istud βω 7 nescisti Ss: nesci V: nescis Ll
 occidisti c caesarem Ss: occidisti ic caesarem V: occidisti Illa G. caesarem Ll
 8 persequi S: prosequi β: utrumque ω

must resort to that saying of the most expressive Messala
 Corvinus: "My power shames me." This man, honourable mem- 3
 bers, who gives you the impression of not being able to startle a
 fly, used to kill people as effortlessly as a dog squats on its
 haunches. But why do I mention men of such number and
 quality? I have no time to bewail national disasters when I
 contemplate family misfortunes. Therefore I shall pass over the
 former and deal with the latter. For *I* know that the knee is
 nearer than the shin, even if my anklebone does not. The speci- 4
 men you see, lurking under my name for so many years, paid me
 such thanks as to kill two Julias, my great-granddaughters, one
 by the sword, the other by starvation, and one great-great-
 grandson, L. Silanus: you, Jupiter, will judge whether his case
 was faulty – it was certainly the same as yours, if you are going to
 be fair. Tell me, deified Claudius, why did you convict any of
 these men and women, whom you killed, before you could
 examine the case, before you could hear the evidence? Where is
 this the customary practice? It is not so in heaven.

II 'Look at Jupiter who has been king for so many years. Vulcan 1
 was the only one . . . whose leg he broke;
 taking hold of his foot he hurled him from heaven's own
 threshold.

And he got angry with his wife and hung her up. Did he ever kill?
You killed Messalina, whose great-great-uncle I was just as much
 as yours. "I don't know" you say? May the gods curse you: the
 fact that you didn't know is far more disgraceful than the fact
 that you killed. Claudius did not stop making Gaius Caesar his 2
 target after his death. Gaius had killed his father-in-law;

- Gaius Crassi filium uetuit Magnum uocari: hic nomen illi reddi-
 10 dit, caput tulit. occidit in una domo Crassum, Magnum, Scribo-
 niam [tristionias], <non> Assar<aci nat>ionem, nobiles tamen,
 Crassum uero tam fatuum ut etiam regnare posset. hunc nunc 3
 deum facere uultis? uidete corpus eius dis iratis natum. ad
 summam, tria uerba cito dicat et seruum me ducat. hunc deum 4
 15 quis colet? quis credet? dum tales deos facitis, nemo uos deos esse
 credit. summa rei, p.c., si honeste inter uos gessi, si nulli clarius
 respondi, uindicate iniurias meas. ego pro sententia mea hoc
 censeo:’ (atque ita ex tabella recitauit:) ‘quandoquidem diuus 5
 Claudius occidit socerum suum Appium Silanum, generos duos
 20 Magnum Pompeium et L. Silanum, socerum filiae suae Crassum
 Frugi, hominem tam similem sibi quam ouo ouum, Scriboniam
 socrum filiae suae, uxorem suam Messalinam et ceteros quorum
 numerus iniri non potuit, placet mihi in eum seuerè animaduerti
 nec illi rerum iudicandarum uacationem dari eumque quam
 25 primum exportari et caelo intra triginta dies excedere, Olympo
 intra diem tertium.’ pedibus in hanc sententiam itum est. nec 6
 mora, Cyllenius illum collo obtorto trahit ad inferos a caelo
 unde negant redire quemquam.
 12 dum descendunt per uiam Sacram interrogat Mercurius quid
 sibi uelit ille concursus hominum, num Claudii funus esset. et

9 c. crassi filium uetuit S: c. (G. L) caesar crassi f. uetuit B: G. cesar uetuerat
 crassi filium s illi al: om. s 11 tristionias α: tristioniam Lw: tristimoniam
 Gwlf. 299: del. Birt non Assaraci nationem Eden cruce indignatus: assarionem
 al: assarion(i)am s tamen al: tam V: tantum s 13-14 adsummam S:
 adsumma V: At summa L: ad uel at uel ac summa ω 14 -at et seruum me duc-
 a codd. ω plerique: om. V codd. ω nonnulli 15 esse al: om. s 16 gessi al: me
 gessi s clarius S: darus V: durus L: durus uel durius ω 17 pro sententia Ss:
 praesentia (praesen V tia V²) B 18 quando quidem ω: quanto quidem V
 19 ante socerum add. et s 20 Crassum Lw: grassum α 21 ante Scriboniam
 add. et s 23 iniri S codd. s aliquot: inueniri Bw 24 iudicandarum al: uend-
 uel uind- s uacationem S, Ball. 114, Par. 6395: uocationem B: aduocationem s
 dari Bw: dare S 25 intra Bw: inter S triginta dies α: xxx dies Ll: dies xxx
 s 26 intra al: inter s 27 cyllenius illum collo obtorto al: illum cyllenius
 obtorto collo s ad inferos a caelo ω: transponebat Birt: [a caelo] <illuc> unde
 Muretus 28 Catull. 3.12 2 num al: om. s

Claudius killed a son-in-law as well. Gaius forbade Crassus' son to be called "the Great". Claudius gave him back his name but took away his head. In one family he killed Crassus, Magnus, and Scribonia, no blue-blooded clan of Assaracus, but aristocrats all the same, and Crassus truly such a fool that he could even have been king. Is this the man you now wish to make a god? 3 Look at his body, born when the gods were in a rage. In short, let him utter three words in quick succession and he can take me as his slave. Who will worship this man as a god? Who will believe 4 in him? While you create gods of this sort nobody will believe that *you* are gods. This is the heart of the matter, honourable members: if I have behaved myself respectably among you, if I have given no reply to anyone too directly, avenge the wrongs done me. This is the motion I put as my considered opinion' (and this is what he read out from his note-pad): 'Whereas the deified 5 Claudius killed his father-in-law Appius Silanus, his two sons-in-law Pompeius Magnus and Lucius Silanus, his daughter's father-in-law Crassus Frugi, a man as like himself as two eggs in a basket, Scribonia his daughter's mother-in-law, his wife Messalina and the others whose number cannot be calculated, my proposal is that he be severely punished and not given exemption from due process of law, and that he be deported as soon as possible and leave heaven within thirty days and Olympus within three.' Members stepped out to support this 6 proposal. There was no delay. Mercury haled him, with his neck twisted, to the underworld from heaven

from where, they say, no one returns.

While they were going down along the Sacred Way Mercury 1 inquired what was meant by that pressing mass of people: was it

erat omnium formosissimum et impensa cura, plane ut scires
 deum efferri: tubicinum, cornicinum, omnis generis aenatorum
 5 tanta turba, tantus conuentus, ut etiam Claudius audire posset.
 omnes laeti, hilares: populus Romanus ambulabat tamquam 2
 liber. Agatho et pauci causicidici plorabant, sed plane ex animo.
 iurisconsulti e tenebris procedebant, pallidi, graciles, uix
 animam habentes, tamquam qui tum maxime reuiuiscerent. ex
 10 his unus, cum uidisset capita conferentes et fortunas suas de-
 plorantes causicidicos, accedit et ait: 'dicebam uobis: non semper
 Saturnalia erunt.' Claudius, ut uidit funus suum, intellexit se 3
 mortuum esse. ingenti enim *μεγάλῳ χορικῶι* nenia cantabatur
 [anapaestis]:

15 'fundite fletus, edite planctus,
 resonet tristi clamore forum:
 cecidit pulchre cordatus homo,
 quo non alius fuit in toto
 fortior orbe. 5
 20 ille citato uincere cursu
 poterat celeris, ille rebelles
 fundere Parthos leuibusque sequi
 Persida telis, certaue manu
 tendere neruum, qui praecipites 10
 25 uulnere paruo figeret hostes
 pictaque Medi terga fugacis,

3 plane Ss: plenum βl 4 efferri α(-eri S)/: offerri s tubicinum Ss: tibi-
 cinum βl aenatorum (-nea- *Rhenanus*) *Buecheler*: senatorum αω: sonatorum
Par. 6395 5 conuentus αω: concentus *Lipsius*, *edd. plerique* 6 et ante hilares
add. s ambulabat α(= *SV²L*)ω: ambulare V 8 e Lω: et α 9 tum α:
 tunc s: *utrumque uel cum l* reuiuiscerent βω: reuiuiscerent S 10 capita
 conferentes αl: conquerentes *uel et querentes s* 12 et ante intellexit *add. s*
 13 mortuum esse αl: mortuum s: moriturum esse *Guelf. 299, Vat. Lat. 4498*
 14 anapestis αω: *del. Heraeus* 15 fundite fletus edite planctus αl: f.p.e.f. s:
subiungunt fingite mugitus Ll: date mugitus *Par. 6395* 17-19 cecidit . . orbe
om. s 17 cordatus αl: cordatur V homo S: iano βl 20 ille βω: illi
 S citato uincere αl: citato parthos uincere s 21 celeris α: celeres Lω
 22 parthos αl: dacos s 23 persida α: persida *uel perfida ω* 26 fugacis
 α(= *S^cVL*): fugacis *uel fugatis ω*

Claudius' funeral? And it was the most handsome affair possible, with no effort spared, so that you knew beyond doubt that it was a god being buried. There was such a vast crowd, such an immense collection of trumpet players and horn players and every variety of brass instrumentalists that even Claudius could hear it. Everyone was happy and merry. The people of Rome 2 were walking about like free men. Agatho and a few barristers were wailing, but obviously with sincerity. Legal consultants were making their way out of the shadows, pale, emaciated, and with scarcely a breath in their bodies, like men at the very point of coming to life again. One of these, after seeing the barristers putting their heads together and bewailing their misfortunes, went up and said: 'I kept on telling you that Carnival time would not last for ever.' When Claudius saw his own funeral procession, 3 he realized that he was dead. For with a mighty great song and dance a dirge was being chanted:

'Pour out your tears, beat on your breasts, let the Forum re-echo with mournful din: a fine-witted fellow has fallen, none in the whole world more valiant than he. *He* could overtake the speedy at full gallop, *he* could rout the revolting Parthians and pursue the people of Persia with lightweight weapons, and stretch the bow with unerring hand, a man to pierce with tiny wound the headlong foes and the embroidered backs of the fleeing Mede; *he* com-

- ille Britannos ultra noti
 litora ponti
 et caeruleos scuta Brigantas 15
 dare Romuleis colla catenis
 iussit et ipsum noua Romanae
 iura securis tremere Oceanum.
 deflete uirum, quo non alius
 potuit citius discere causas, 20
 una tantum parte audita,
 saepe neutra. quis nunc iudex
 toto lites audiet anno?
 tibi iam cedit sede relicta
 qui dat populo iura silenti, 25
 Cretaea tenens oppida centum.
 caedite maestis pectora palmis
 o causidici, uenale genus,
 uosque poetae lugete noui,
 uosque in primis qui concusso 30
 magna parastis lucra fritillo.'
- 45 13 delectabatur laudibus suis Claudius et cupiebat diutius spec-
 tare. inicit illi manum Talthybius deorum [nuntius] et trahit
 capite obuoluto, ne quis eum possit agnoscere, per campum
 Martium, et inter Tiberim et uiam Tectam descendit ad inferos.
 5 antecesserat iam compendiaria Narcissus libertus ad patronum
 excipiendum, et uenienti nitidus, ut erat a balineo, occurrit et
 ait: 'quid di ad homines?' 'celerius' inquit Mercurius 'et uenire
- 29 brigantas α: brigantas uel brigantes ω 33 deflete α: defletu V: deflete uel
 deflere ω quo Lω: qui α 34 discere αl: dicere s 36 neutra ω: et
 neutra Val. Lat. 4498, Ed. Princ.: nec utra Postgate 40 Cretaea α(= SV³L):
 greca s 41 Cedite mestis βω: Caedite maestis S 42 uenale ω: uenenale
 V 45 fritillo α: uarie corruptum in ω 1 laudibus suis Claudius αl: C.I.s. s
 2 illi ω: illa V manum αl: manus s talthybius α: thaltibius V: taltibius uel
 calcidius ω nuntius ω: satelles Val. 2150, Laur. Ardil. 168: del. Camden teste
 Grutero 3 possit αl: posset s 4 tectam α: rectam uel tectam ω
 5 compendiaria α: c. uia Lω 6 abalinea S: abalneo β: a bal(i)neo uel ab
 alieno ω 7 homines αl: omnes s celerius αl: celerius i L, Par. 6630, Mert.
 297: celerius ... i et dub. Buecheler: celera s et uenire ω: aduenire Ball. 130,
 Ball. 136

manded the Britons, beyond the shores of the sea we know, and the Brigantes with indigo shields, to submit their necks to Romulus' chains, and Ocean himself to tremble at the new enforcements of the Roman axe. Lament for the man than whom no other could more quickly master his briefs, after hearing only one side of the case, and often neither. Who will now listen as judge to lawsuits the whole year round? He who gives rulings to the people of silence, holding sway over a hundred cities of Crete, will now give place to you, leaving his seat. Pound your breasts with hands of sorrow, you venal tribe of barristers, and mourn, you poets *à la mode*, and especially you who amassed vast profits from shaking the dice-box.'

Claudius was delighted with the tributes to him and wanted 1
to watch longer. The Talthybius of the gods laid a hand on him
and dragged him, with his head muffled up so that nobody could
recognize him, across the Campus Martius, and went down to
the underworld between the Tiber and the Arcade. The freed- 2
man Narcissus had already gone on ahead by a short cut to
welcome his master, and gleaming fresh, because straight from
the bath, he went to meet him on arrival and said, 'What brings
the gods to men?' 'Quick about it !' said Mercury, 'and announce

nos nuntia.' dicto citius Narcissus euolat. omnia procliuia sunt,
 facile descenditur. itaque quamuis podagricus esset, momento
 10 temporis peruenit ad ianuam Ditis, ubi iacebat Cerberus uel, ut
 ait Horatius, 'belua centiceps'. pusillum perturbatur (subalbam
 canem in deliciis habere adsueuerat) ut illum uidit canem
 nigrum, uiliosum, sane non quem uelis tibi in tenebris occurrere,
 et magna uoce 'Claudius' inquit 'ueniet.' cum plausu procedunt
 15 cantantes 'εὐρήκαμεν συγχαίρωμεν.' hic erat C. Silius consul de-
 signatus, Iuncus praetorius, Sex. Traulus, M. Heluius, Trogus,
 Cotta, Vettius Valens, Fabius, equites R. quos Narcissus duci
 iusserat. medius erat in hac cantantium turba Mnester pan-
 tomimus, quem Claudius decoris causa minorem fecerat ad
 20 Messalinam. cito rumor percrebuit Claudium uenisse. conuol-
 ant primi omnium liberti Polybius, Myron, Arpocras, Ampheus,
 Pheronaotus, quos Claudius omnes, necubi imparatus esset,
 praemiserat. deinde praefecti duo Iustus Catonius et Rufrius
 Pollio. deinde amici Saturninus Lusius et Peto Pompeius et

9 descenditur αω: descendit *Par. 6395, Val. 2150, Laur. Aedil. 168* 10 uelut
 α: ut s: uel *del. Gertz* 11 oratius α: Hora L: (h)oratius ω 11 *Hor. C. 2.13.*
 34 centiceps (conticeps L) α: centipes s perturbatur subalbam S: sub-
 perturbatur albam β: super- uel super- albam ω 12 adsueuerat S: as- βl:
 con- *Par. 2389, Dubl. E. 5.20, Val. Lat. 4498:* solebat s uidit canem α:
 ca(r)nem uidit s 13 tibi in tenebris α: in tenebris tibi s 14 ueniet αω:
 uenit *Par. nouv. acq. 1303, Mert. 300, Dubl. E. 5.20* 15 εὐρήκαμεν συγχαίρωμεν
recte dispexit N. Faber C. Silius Muretus: ē consilius S: consilius βω consul
 αω: om. *codd. s aliquot* 16 Iuncus *Sonntag:* Iunius Ss: unus βl Traulus
Lipsius: trallus α: aulus s 17 Vettius *Buecheler:* tettius (an tectius?) S: tectus βl:
uarie deprauatum in s equites *scribendum uidetur:* eques R α: eques roma-
 nus Lω narcissus duci αω: narciosum duci V: narcius ducius V³
 18 cantantium αω: cantantum L mnester S: nester s: nre V: nr L: nr uel nester l
 18-19 pantomimus α: patron(i)us s 19 decoris causa α: hac de causa s
 ad αω: nec non *Vat. Lat. 4498, Ed. Princ.: post fecerat nonnulla intercidiisse suspicatus est*
Buecheler 20-21 conuolant Ss: conuolarunt βl 21 primi Ss: primum βl
Arpocras Buecheler: Harpocras *ante Polybius interpol. Vat. Lat. 4498, Ed. Princ.:*
 arporas αω ampheus αω 22 Pheronaotus (= Φηρών δωτος) *Eden:* phero-
 naotus S: pheronattus V: Pheronatus L *codd. l nonnulli:* pheronas s: Pheronactus
codd. l aliquot, edd. plerique: Pheron, Auctus (Aotus *Mariotti*) *Herarus* 23-24
 Rufrius Pollio *H.S. Reimar coll. Dione 60.23.2:* rufius S²V: rusius L (russius L³):
 rofius S: ruf(i)us uel ruphus ω: rufinus *Mert. 300* pomfilius S: pompe(i)i filius
 βl: pamphilius uel pompilius s 24 saturninus α: Saturnius Ll: Saturnus s

our arrival.' Faster than the spoken word off flew Narcissus. 3
Everything sloped downward, the descent was easy. So, although he was gouty, he came in an instant to the gateway of Dis where lay Cerberus or, as Horace says, 'the hundred-headed beast'. He was in the habit of keeping a whitish bitch as a pet, and was a tiny bit shocked when he saw that black, shaggy hound, absolutely not the thing you would like to meet you in the dark. And in a loud voice he cried 'Claudius will soon be here'. They moved forward clapping and chanting 'We have found 4
him, let us rejoice.' Here was Gaius Silius a consul elect, Juncus the ex-praetor, Sextus Traulus, Marcus Helvius, Trogus, Cotta, Vettius Valens and Fabius, Roman knights whom Narcissus had ordered to be led away to execution. The centre of this crowd of chanters was the actor-dancer Mnester, whom Claudius, 5
for appearance's sake, had cut down to suit Messalina. The rumour of Claudius' arrival spread quickly. First of all dashed up the freedmen Polybius, Myron, Arpocras, Ampheus and Pheronaotus, all of whom Claudius had sent on ahead so as not to be anywhere unattended. Then there were the two Prefects of the Praetorian Guard, Justus Catonius and Rufrius Pollio. Then came his Privy Councillors, the ex-consuls Saturninus Lusius, Peto Pompeius, Lupus and Celer Asinius. Finally his

- 25 Lupus et Celer Asinius consulares. nouissime fratris filia, sororis
 filia, generi, soceri, socrus, omnes plane consanguinei. et agmine
 facto Claudio occurrunt. quos cum uidisset Claudius, exclamat 6
 'πάντα φίλων πλήρη! quomodo huc uenistis uos?' tum Peto
 Pompeius 'quid dicis, homo crudelissime? quaeris quomodo?
 30 quis enim nos alius huc misit quam tu, omnium amicorum
 interfector? in ius eamus: ego tibi hic sellas ostendam.'
- 14 ducit illum ad tribunal Aeaci (is lege Cornelia, quae de 1
 sicariis lata est, quaerebat). postulat, nomen eius recipiat; edit
 subscriptionem: occisos senatores XXX(V), equites R.
 CC(C)XXI, ceteros δσα ψάμαθός τε κόνις τε. aduocatum non 2
 5 inuenit. tandem procedit P. Petronius, uetus conuictor eius,
 homo Claudiana lingua disertus, et postulat aduocationem. non
 datur. accusat Peto Pompeius magnis clamoribus. incipit pat-
 ronius uelle respondere. Aeacus, homo iustissimus, uetat et illum,
 altera tantum parte audita, condemnat et ait: αἴκε πάθοις τὰ
 10 ἐρεξας δίκη εὐθεῖα γένοιτο. ingens silentium factum est. stupebant 3
 omnes nouitate rei attoniti, negabant hoc umquam factum.
 Claudio magis iniquum uidebatur quam nouum. de genere
 poenae diu disputatum est, quid illum pati oporteret. erant qui
 dicerent, Si(syph)um diu laturam fecisse[nt], Tantalum siti

25 asinius S: asinus β: asin(i)us ω 28 πάντα φίλων πλήρη *dispexit Iunius*
 huc uenistis uos S: uos huc uenistis βω 30 omnium amicorum αs: amicorum
 omnium LI 31 sellas *Vat. Lat. 4498*: stellas αω: cellas *Ball. 130, Ball. 136*:
 sitellas *Iunius* 1 eaci Lω: eacii α 2 recipiat αl: recipit atque s
 3 subscriptionem βω: suscriptionem S senatores XXXV *Buecheler coll. Suet.*
Cl. 29.2: senatores XXX αω 3-4 equites R. CCCXXI *dub. Baehrens, cf. Suet.*
Cl. 29.2: equites R·U·SV: equites romanos·v· LI: equites romanos xxv s: Eq. Ro.
 CCCXV atque plures *Vat. Lat. 4498 in marg., Ed. Princ.* 4 ceteros (caet- S)
 CCXXI αω *Ed. Princ.*: transposuit *Rhenanus*: ceteros ciues *Sonnlag Hom. Il. 9.385*
 κόνις τε. (iste) ... *Wachsmuth* 5 conuictor eius αω: eius conuictor V
 7 Pompeius αl: om. s magnis clamoribus β(= V³L)s: clamoribus m. l: magns
 c. S: magis c. V 7-8 patronus αs *codd. l. nonnulli*: petronius *codd. l. aliquot*: P.
 Petronius *Ed. Princ.* 8 et αs: om. LI 9 altera tantum parte αl: p.a.t. s
 9-10 αταερεξας ... εὐθ- ... α(= SVL): *uersum Hesiodum (Mey. Έργ. fr. 286*
M-W) contextui accommodatum dispexit Faber 11 nouitate rei αl: r.n. s
 12 magis iniquum Ss: i.m. βl 14 Sisypum diu laturam fecisse *Buecheler, qui*
tamen (satis) ante diu (ubi (nimium) Gertz, (iam) Rossbach) addidit: (Tit) ym
 diu ia(c)turam fecisse εὐτ(ερω) coniciebat *Eden*: siumdiu laturam fecissent S:
 siunidii l.f. V *codd. l. plerique*: si unius dii l.f. L *codd. l. nonnulli*: s.l.f. om. s

brother's daughter, his sister's daughter, his sons-in-law, his fathers-in-law, his mothers-in-law, all obviously kindred. And forming up in column they went to meet Claudius. At the sight of them Claudius exclaimed 'Friends everywhere! How did *you* 6 come to be here?' Then Peto Pompeius said 'What are you talking about, you merciless man? You ask how? Who else but you sent us here, you murderer of all your friends? Let's go to court. *I* will show *you* the magistrates' benches here.'

Peto led him to the judgement seat of Aeacus, who was 1 investigating cases under the law of Sulla enacted about murderers. Peto requested Aeacus to enter Claudius' name as a guilty party, and issued his indictment: 'Killed: senators, thirty-five; Roman knights, three hundred and twenty-one; the others, "as many as grains of sand and specks of dust".' Claudius could 2 not find an advocate. At last Publius Petronius stepped forward, an old crony of his, a chap with Claudius' own gift of the gab, and demanded an adjournment. It was not granted. Peto Pompeius delivered his prosecution amid loud shouts. The defence-counsel showed signs of wanting to reply. Aeacus, the essence of justice, told him not to, and condemned Claudius with only one side of the case heard, quoting

Shouldst thou suffer what thou wroughtst, justice would be done direct.

A deafening silence followed. Everybody was struck dumb, shattered by the unprecedented ruling, and said that this had never been done before. Claudius thought it unfair rather than unprecedented. There was a long discussion about the type of penalty, and what he ought to suffer. There were some who said that Sisyphus had done his porter's job for a long time, that Tantalus would die of thirst if help were not given him, that poor 3

- 15 periturum nisi illi succurreretur, aliquando Ixionis miseri rotam
sufflaminandam. non placuit ulli ex ueteribus missionem dari, ne
uel Claudius umquam simile speraret. placuit nouam poenam
constitui debere, excogitandum illi laborem irritum et alicuius
20 cupiditatis spem sine effectū. tum Aeacus iubet illum alea ludere
pertuso fritillo. et iam coeperat fugientes semper tesseras
quaerere et nihil proficere:
- 15 nam quotiens missurus erat resonante fritillo
 utraque subducto fugiebat tessera fundo;
 cumque recollectos auderet mittere talos,
 lusuro similis semper semperque petenti,
5 decepere fidem: refugit digitosque per ipsos 5
 fallax adsiduo dilabitur alea furto.
 sic cum iam summi tanguntur culmina montis,
 inrita Sisypchio uoluuntur pondera collo.
- apparuit subito C. Caesar et petere illum in seruitutem coepit.
- 10 producit testes, qui illum uiderant ab illo flagris, ferulis, colaphis
uapulantem. adiudicatur. C. Caesari illum Aeacus donat. is
Menandro liberto suo tradidit, ut a cognitionibus esset.

15 succurreretur *V codd. ω plerique*: succuffetur *S*: succurreretur *L codd. ω nonnulli*
16 ueteribus *Ss*: ueteris *V*: ueternis *Ll*: ueteranis *Par. 1936, Vat. Lat. 4498, Ed. Princ.*
17 simile *al*: aliquid simile *s* 18 alicuius *ωω*: alicuius *V* 19 spem
s: spes *al* sine effectū *S*: sine effectū *s*: sine fine effectus *βl*: sine fine
<sine> effectū *Rosbach* 20 pertuso *S, Vat. Lat. 2216, Cas. 392*: percusso *βω*
fugientes *βω*: figientes *S* semper tesseras *al*: tesseras semper *s* 1 nam *a*
codd. l plerique: iam *s codd. l nonnulli* erat resonante *βω*: fratrae sonante *S*
3 recollectos *ωω*: collectos *V* auderet *ωω*: arderet *Palmer* 4 lusuro *ωω*:
fusuro *Buecheler et iam antea Mert. 297* 5 Decepere *ωω*: Decipere *V* 6 dila-
bitur *al*: delabitur *s* 9-10 cepit (caepit *V*) producit *βl*: Coepit producere
S: c(o)epit et producere *s* 10 illum *ωω*: seclusit *Buecheler*: olim *Maehly* ab
illo *α (= SV*L)l*: ab illa *V*: ab ipso *Maehly* ab illo flagris ferulis colaphis *al*:
flagris ab eo ferulis (et) colaphis *s* 11 G. cesari illum eacus d. *Ll*: ē caesari
caesar illum eaco d. *S*: C Cesari Cesar eaco d. *s*: C. Caesar illum eaco d. *V*
is *al*: is illum *s* 12 esset *α*: abesset *Lω* DIUI CLAUDII EXPLICIT
APOTHEOSIS ANNEI SENECAE PER SATURAM *S*: EXPLICIT LUDUS
SENECAE DE MORTE CLAUDII CAESARIS *L*: deest subscriptio in *V*

Ixion's wheel must sooner or later have the brake put on. No 4
resolution was carried that any of the old-timers should be let off,
so that not even Claudius might ever hope for anything of the
kind. It was resolved that a novel penalty be instituted: for him
there must be devised some futile task, some hope for a desired
object without achieving it. Then Aeacus ordered him to play
dice using a dice-box with a hole in it. And Claudius was already
beginning to chase the ever-receding dice, and was getting
nowhere.

For whenever he was on the point of throwing from the 1
clattering dice-box, each of the two dice kept trickling
through the bottomless base; and when he plucked up
courage to gather up the dice and throw them, always like
someone on the point of playing *and* in the act of searching,
they fooled him: with continual stealth the die recoiled and
slipped deceptively through his very fingers. In the same
way, when the topmost mountain peaks are already being
touched, the futile burden rolls off Sisyphus' neck.

Gaius Caesar suddenly made an appearance and began to ask 2
for Claudius to be his slave. He brought forward witnesses who
had seen Claudius being thrashed by him with whips and canes
and fisticuffs. The adjudgement was made. It was to Gaius
Caesar that Aeacus presented him. Gaius handed him over to his
freedman Menander to be his secretary for petitions.

COMMENTARY

1. Proem

1 This opening chapter is structured on the conventional framework of historians' prefaces: a statement, increasingly specific, of the subject-matter; an assurance of impartiality and truthfulness; an indication of source(s). Exploiting incongruity in both situation and language, the author treats these elements with scintillating humour, trenchant wit, and inventive mimicry. The result is a characteristically Roman invigoration of a number of features of pseudohistory (tales of the miraculous and incredible) as exemplified by Lucian's *Vera historia*.

1.1 **Quid actum sit in caelo:** the language of official business (cf. e.g. Cic. *Verr. sec.* 1.156 *saepissime est actum in senatu ut genus hoc totum multarum atque eius modi iudiciorum tolleretur*; *TLL* 1. 1392.77ff.) asserts comically with its surprise location *in caelo*, and hints at the author's plan for a later *concilium deorum* with senatorial procedure (8ff.).

ante diem III idus Octobris: 13 October is the date given by Suet. *Cl.* 45 and Dio 60.34.3 for Claudius' death, by Tac. *Ann.* 12.69.1 for its being made public knowledge. Neither the funeral nor the conferment of divine honours is likely to have occurred on this same day (see Furneaux on Tac. *Ann.* 13.2.6) to have made it especially memorable, and with the year (A.D. 54) unspecified the allusion could not have been *immediately* intelligible for more than one calendar year after the event.

anno nouo: after the specified day one might have expected *anno ab urbe condita octingentesimo septimo* to follow, but in the author's personal calendar the day marks a new and, in this context, pleasantly unfamiliar, year, like a New (calendar) Year: cf. Sen. *Epp.* 87.3 *cotidie mihi annum nouum faciunt* [sc. *caricae*, 'figs', a common New Year's Day gift, cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 1.185ff.], *quem ego faustum et felicem reddo bonis cogitationibus* ... (Renaissance readers were assisted by the editorial interpolation (first appearing in Vat. Lat. 4498 and the Ed. Princ.) of *Asinio Marcello Acilio Auiola cos.*, probably from Suet. *Cl.* 45 where the *praenomina* (M. and M' respectively: Tac. *Ann.* 12.64.1) are also omitted.)

initio saeculi felicissimi: conventional phraseology for the golden expectations of a new principate. It appears (1) in Apollo's

song at 4.1.9 and 23f., and at Sen. *De clem.* 2.1.3, with even clearer allusion to the *quinquennium Neronis*; (2) in a *senatus consultum* of c. A.D. 45, early in Claudius' principate, which claimed to follow the princeps' wishes in penalizing the purchase and nullifying the sale of private property for profit-making demolition: *cum ... conueniretq(ue) felicitati saeculi instantis pro portione publicorum operum etiam priuatorum custodi(re)* (*CIL* x. 1401); (3) significantly, in the preface of a historical biography, in connection with Nerva and Trajan: *nunc demum redit animus; et quamquam primo statim beatissimi saeculi ortu Nerua Caesar res olim dissociabiles miscuerit, principatum ac libertatem, augeatque cotidie felicitatem temporum Nerua Traianus ...* (*Tac. Agr.* 3.1).

nihil ... dabitur: protestations of impartiality are regular features of historians' prefaces from Polybius 1.14.6ff. onwards, and often expressed in two single contrasting words: *Tac. Hist.* 1.1 *nec beneficio nec iniuria* and *neque amore ... et sine odio ...*; *Tac. Ann.* 1.1.6 *sine ira et studio*; Lucian, *De hist. conscr.* 41 οὐ μίσει οὐδὲ φιλίας τι νέμων, 'according nothing to hatred or affection'. *offensa* appears elsewhere in contradistinction to *gratia*, e.g. *Sall. Jug.* 102.7.

The irony of the assurance here soon emerges in a work where every concession is made to 'umbrage' and 'favour'. There is no question of a serious denial of the hostility Seneca was believed to bear Claudius for his banishment to Corsica (*Tac. Ann.* 12.8.3).

haec ita uera: an elliptical phrase for *haec ita (ut dico) uera (sunt)*: cf. e.g. *Plaut. Amph.* 569 *ut loquor, res ita est*. Syntactically, it can stand by itself; stylistically, it should, rather than be joined to the following sentence: the author defends his integrity with a show of defiance, in a staccato phrase.

primum, si noluerō, non respondebo: with this unexpectedly cheeky reply 'the mask [of the historian] is thrown aside and before us stands the clown who has duped the reader' Weinreich (17), who also points out (19) that anyone reading this proem, and indeed the whole satire, at a private party (*cena*), would have ample scope to display his acting abilities and develop a *recitatio* into a *mimus*.

quis coacturus est?: this periphrastic form of the future was a vigorous colloquialism – a distinguishing mannerism of the *sermo cotidianus* of Echion in *Petr.* 45.4; 6; 10.

liberum: not 'free to speak my mind', which would be nonsensical after *non respondebo*, but free to decide whether or not to speak at all.

There is an implied contrast with *seruus*, lacking the power of self-determination – the condition of all subjects of a *rex*, which Claudius is implied to have been; see Schulz 140ff.

suum diem obiit: a common phrase in colloquial contexts like Plaut. *Poen.* 904 and 1070, Cic. *Ad fam.* 4.5.4 and 4.12.2; it reflects the widespread belief of Greco-Roman society in an individual's predetermined destiny, discoverable by astrology and horoscopy; see Cumont ch. 7, 162ff., and cf. Tac. *Dial.* 13.6 *quandoque enim fatalis et meus dies | ueniet*.

uerum prouerbium ... oportere: a Latin counterpart or derivative of the Greek proverb cited by Porphyry on Hor. *Sat.* 2.3.188 *μωρῶι καὶ βασιλεὶ νόμος ἀγραφός*: 'for a fool and a king the law is unwritten', and one must be born one or the other to behave arbitrarily with impunity.

Claudius was a born fool in the opinion of many, including his mother (Suet. *Cl.* 3.2 *si quem socordiae argueret* [sc. *Antonia*], *stultiores aiebat filio suo Claudio*). He was also born a *rex* in the extended sense 'member of the ruling family' (cf. e.g. Livy 2.2.11; 45.43.9).

The joke, that he fulfilled both of the conditions of which one alone would have been sufficient (as stressed by the antithetical *aut ... aut*) does not need to be made explicit by supplements like (*bis*) *uerum* (Mommsen and Birt), or (*bisariam*) *uerum* (Wachsmuth).

A further development of the proverb – that stupidity is actually a prerequisite for kingship – occurs later: 11.2 *Crassum uero tam fatuum ut etiam regnare posset*.

Proverbs, frequent in this work, were the stock-in-trade of Menippean satire (Varro and Lucian), as of its literary antecedent, the Cynic diatribe.

1.2 quod ... in buccam uenerit (fut. pf.): *bucca* was a popular colloquial equivalent of *os*, vigorous enough to supplant it in the Romance languages (It. *bocca*, Fr. *bouche*). Cf. Sen. *Epp.* 118.1 *nec faciam quod Cicero, uir disertissimus, facere Atticum iubet, ut etiam si rem nullam habebit, quod in buccam uenerit, scribat* (Cic. *Ad Att.* 1.12.4; 7.10; 12.1.2; 14.7.2). What 'trips off the tongue' is, however, not only random, but also uninhibited: Mart. 12.24.4f. *hic mecum licet, hic, luate, quidquid | in buccam tibi uenerit, loquaris*.

iuratores: minor civil servants responsible for collecting the sworn

returns of individuals' taxable assets and other liabilities at a *census*: Plaut. *Trin.* 872 *census quom sum, iuratori recte rationem dedi*; Livy 39.44.2. The word is used metaphorically as early as Plaut. *Poen.* 55ff. *nomen iam habetis. nunc rationes ceteras | accipite; nam argumentum hoc hic censebitur: | ... | uos iuratores estis.*

The idea that a reader would only accept a historian's word if his source's testimony was under oath is, of course, ludicrous. The author implies, with comic indignation, that he *is* a historian – and not a pseudohistorian, whose informant might readily be put on oath (cf. e.g. Lucian, *Toxaris* 11 and 18).

Eumolpus, at Petr. 118.6, says that what should be clear in history, as opposed to poetry, is *religiosae orationis sub testibus fides*. This lends some support to the conjecture *iurato res* (Mommsen) or *iurato rationes* (Heinze). *iurato res* is given by Val. 2150 and Laur. Aedil. 168, a chance word-division rather than an emendation.

quaerito: imperative; 3rd person sing., picking up *si quis quaesierit* shortly before, and future, as regularly with a future perfect *fuert* in the protasis (cf. *si libuerit ... dicam* just before); the legal ring of the future imperative is clearly appropriate here.

Drusillam: Julia Drusilla (born A.D. 17) was one of the three daughters of Germanicus and Agrippina the Elder. In A.D. 33 she was married to Lucius Cassius Longinus (Tac. *Ann.* 6.15.4) and subsequently to Marcus Aemilius Lepidus (Dio 59.11.1), but sexual relations with her brother Gaius (Caligula), begun in their childhood (Suet. *Cal.* 24.1) continued without interruption. Gaius named his own daughter by Caesonia after her (Suet. *Cal.* 25.4) and his mourning at her death in A.D. 38 was extravagant (Dio 59.11.5f. and Sen. *Cons. Polyb.* 17.4f.). Deification was decreed, a shrine in Rome with twenty priests and priestesses, the title Panthea, and eligibility for divine honours in all cities (Dio 59.11.2f.; further details in *CAH* x. 496). 'And a certain Livius Geminus, a senator, swore on oath, invoking destruction on himself and his children if he lied, that he had seen her ascending to heaven and joining the gods, and he called all the other gods and her own self to witness'; and he was handsomely rewarded with a quarter of a million denarii (= a million sesterces) (Dio 59.11.4).

The same amount for the same service as that rendered by Geminus (as his correct name probably was: see Dessau *PIR*, II. 290) had been bestowed by Livia on a certain Numerius Atticus who swore that he had

seen Augustus ascending to heaven (Dio 56.46.2; cf. Suet. *Aug.* 100.4). Precedent for such testimony was provided by the story of Julius Proculus' vision of the ascension of Romulus (Cic. *De rep.* 2.20; Livy 1.16.5ff.; Ovid, *Fasti* 2.499ff.).

idem with *iter* is more pointed than *idem* masc.

non passibus aequis: *dextrae se parvus Iulus | implicuit sequiturque patrem non passibus aequis* as Aeneas left Troy, Virg. *Aen.* 2.723f. But Seneca gives an exquisitely malicious twist to the meaning: Iulus' steps were unequal to his father's, Claudius' steps were unequal to each other, cf. 5.2 *pedem dextrum trahere* and Suet. *Cl.* 30 *ingredientem destituebant poplites minus firmi*.

uelit nolit: '(should he) like it or not', a common colloquialism for the explicit *siue uelit siue nolit*: cf. Petr. 71.11; Sen. *De uita beata* 4.4; Sen. *De breu.* 8.5 (*uelis nolis*); Sen. *Epp.* 117.4 (*uelint nolint*).

Appiae uiae curator: the *uia Appia*, Rome's principal highway to the south, running to Capua and later extended to Brundisium, was begun in 312 B.C. in the censorship of Appius Claudius Caecus (hence its name). But the responsibility for the construction and maintenance of roads, as also public works, the public water-supply, and the Tiber channel and its banks, was transferred by Augustus from the censorship to *curatores*, experienced magistrates of senatorial rank, but nominated by the princeps. The holder of such a post might be expected to be an 'emperor's man'.

uia ... qua ... ad deos isse: a cliché of ascension-literature (cf. Varro, *Men.* 560B ... *uias: unam ad signum scorpionis, qua Hercules ad deos isse diceretur*), humorously enlivened by the terrestrial precision (*Appiae*).

qua scis ... isse: both Augustus and Tiberius died in Campania, Augustus at Nola (Suet. *Aug.* 100.2), Tiberius at Misenum (Suet. *Tib.* 75.3). The former's mortal remains certainly (passing through Bovillae) and the latter's presumably entered Rome from the *uia Appia*, Augustus for consecration and divine honours, Tiberius for execration and not 'to join the gods'. The author has succumbed to the expression of what was conventionally expected of all emperors (see the note on 4.1.22-3) but unhistorical in the case of Tiberius.

scis ... interrogaueris: the tone again reverts from the distanced impersonality of the 'historian' to colloquial dialogue (a characteristic of diatribe and satire), into which yet more imaginary auditors are drawn at 5.1 with *scitis* and *audite*.

1.3 uerbum faciet: popular clichés with *uerbum* include *uerba facere*, 'to speak', and *uerba dare*, 'to give [mere] words, to deceive'.

in senatu iurauit: cf. Dio 59.11.4 cited above.

quod uiderit: see the *apparatus*. Strictly, this phrase is otiose with what precedes, repetitively redundant with what follows. Grammatically, complete sense can be obtained from a combination of the intransitive meaning of *credere* = 'to put trust in' and *indicare* = 'to make a disclosure'. Stylistically, however, because of the very loose colloquial tone of the skit, *quod uiderit* cannot certainly be condemned as spurious (with Gruter), and may even serve to reproduce the insistence on the importance of an eyewitness's testimony in pseudohistory (Weinreich 25).

There is finer point if it is taken as sub-oblique with *credidit*, 'nobody has believed what *he claims* he saw' (a nuance not implicit in the indirect question *quid uiderit*, and forfeited by Gertz's *quod uiderat*).

Paschasius Radbertus (see the Intro. p. 19) imitates this passage closely; the divergences, however, suggest arbitrary paraphrase, not access to pre-archetypal truth, and there is no justification for printing *quidquid uiderit* in the text (with Rossbach).

Just conceivably *quod uiderit* = 'that he saw'. This unclassical way of expressing indirect statement occurs very occasionally in some authors open to the influence of *sermo uulgaris*: cf. KS II.274f. But the need for a direct object (pronoun) of *uiderit* argues against this view.

uerbis conceptis: 'in binding words'; defined by Servius *auct.* on *Aen.* 12.13, *concepta autem uerba dicuntur iurandi formula quam nobis transgredi non licet. concipere* with *iusiurandum*, *foedus*, *uotum*, etc. = 'to formulate' with binding verbal precision. *conceptis uerbis* as a phrase is common in comedy, e.g. Plaut. *Cist.* 98 and *Bacch.* 1028; *uerbis conceptissimis* occurs at Petr. 113.13 and 133.2.

affirmauit se ... uidisset: *se* is emphatic; even a murder, hardly possible in the most public place in Rome without numerous corroborating witnesses, will not be reported by *him*. It was his responsibility as a citizen to do so, and there is a sly hint that a man given to remunerative visions might be expected to shirk his plain duty.

ab hoc ... affero: the author claims to give a precise and clear account of what he heard in confidence (cf. *solī narrabit* 1.3) from Livius Geminus at the time of Claudius' death. It is implied, by *uidisse se dicet* 1.2

(as opposed to *dixit*), and by the preceding sentence *nam ex quo* ... 1.3 that Livius Geminus did not make any public attestation of Claudius' apotheosis, and there is no independent evidence to suggest he did (*pace* Weinreich 24).

certa clara affero: the same phrase at Ter. *Hec.* 841 *uide* ... *ut mi haec certa et clara attuleris*, the same colloquial asyndeton at Cic. *Ad Att.* 16.13a.2 *tu mihi de iis rebus quae nouantur omnia certa, clara* [sc. *affer(as)*]: an old alliterative quasi-legal phrase of popular speech, cf. Hor. *Sat.* 2.6.27f. *postmodo quod mi obsit clare certumque locuto | luctandum in turba et facienda iniuria tardis*.

ita illum saluum et felicem habeam: a common oath-formula in colloquial language from Roman comedy onwards, cf. e.g. Petr. 61.2 *sic felicem me uideas*; 69.3 *sic me saluum habeatis, ut ego sic solebam ipsam meam debattuere*; 74.14 *ita genium meum propitium habeam*. There may be an allusion to Livius Geminus' own oath to having witnessed the ascension of Drusilla (Dio 59.11.4 cited above), but there is in any case an ironic inversion of the expected *ita me saluum habeam*: not 'my report is accurate, so help me God', but 'my report is accurate, may God help him'.

2. Exposition: periphrases of times of year and day

After humorous misapplication of historians' professions, the author satirizes, with ironic imitation, the bombastic circumlocutions of times of year and day beloved by poetasters (cf. Quint. *I.O.* 8.6.59ff. *ornatum* ... *solum* [i.e. periphrasis] *qui est apud poetas frequentissimus*), either as a self-contained exercise in a short poem (Petr. fr. 38 B = *PLM* 4.75 Baehrens), or as embellishment in a longer one (cf. Sen. *Epp.* 122.11ff. on Julius Montanus, who *ortus et occasus libentissime inserebat*).

2.1 iam: as at 2.4 below, the invariable signal of a time-paraphrase; cf. e.g. Hor. *Sat.* 1.5.9f. *iam nox inducere terris | umbras et caelo diffundere signa parabat*. In this context it is recognizable as mock-heroic, as also at *Moretum* 1, and Juv. 4.56f. cited on *deformis Hiems* below.

2.1.1–2 contraxerat arcum | lucis: *arcum*, 'arc', is the editor's conjecture. Both Buecheler and Russo originally accepted the MSS reading *ortum*, but later rejected it for Fromond's *orbem*. Of these the former is impossible, because *ortus lucis* is not synonymous with *lux* or *dies* unqualified, any more than 'dawn' (which is what the phrase means

elsewhere, e.g. at Hor. *Epp.* 2.2.185, Ovid, *Met.* 15.619) is with 'daylight' or 'daytime'. *orbem* here would have to mean 'orbit' or 'circuit' (as at 2.4 just below); yet *orbis lucis* would most naturally mean 'disc of light' (cf. Virg. *Georg.* 1.459 *lucidus orbis*) which the sun *cannot* contract (unlike the moon, Ovid, *Met.* 15.197f. *hodierna* [sc. *forma*] *sequente*, | *si crescit, minor est, maior, si contrahit orbem*).

The sense required here is suggested by 2.4 below, *obliquo . . . tramite*; Prop. 3.20.12 *Phoebe, moraturae contrahe lucis iter*; Hor. *Sat.* 2.6.25f. *seu bruma niualet | interiore diem gyro trahit*.

arcum, more easily corrupted to *ortum* than is *orbem*, means 'arc' at Man. 1.296 *maioresque Helice maior decircinat arcum* and, outside a technical astronomical context, at Stat. *Theb.* 1.27f. *licet ignipedum frenator equorum | ipse tuis* [sc. *Domitiani*] *alte radiantem crinibus arcum | imprimat*.

2.1.2 tempora Somni: personifications are well known to the high style and hence to the mock-heroic: *Somnus* at Virg. *Aen.* 6.893 (from Hom. *Od.* 19.562f.), *Hiems* at Virg. *Aen.* 3.120, *Autumnus* at Juv. 4.57.

2.1.3 iamque . . . regnum: the moon 'was triumphantly extending her sway' not by being visible longer, but by shining longer when visible in the increasing hours of darkness.

Cynthia: Artemis (Diana), identified with the moon, became associated in mythology with Apollo (Cynthius), who had a long-established cult on Mount Cynthus on Delos, and they were believed to have been born there as twins.

2.1.4 deformis Hiems also features in the mock-epic passage Juv. 4.56ff. *iam letifero cedente pruinis | Autumno, iam quartanam sperantibus aegris, | stridebat deformis Hiems praedamque recentem | seruabat*.

carpebat: the repetition of the word in the next verse but one has prompted conjectures (*spargebat* or *rapiebat* Buecheler, *turpabat* Haupt, *captabat* Palmer) – needlessly, for such close repetitions of a word, sometimes with a shift in meaning, are not uncommon even in serious Latin poets. For our author's practice see the note on 4.1.1 *stamina fuso*, and in the paratragic iambs 7.2.9–10 *uidi . . . uidet*.

2.1.4–5 honores | diuitis Autumni: spring and summer too have or lack their 'splendours': Stat. *Theb.* 10.788 *ueris honore*, Silius 3.487 *nullique aestatis honores*; those of autumn are primarily harvest produce: Hor. *Sat.* 2.5.12f. *dulcia poma | et quoscumque feret cultus tibi fundus honores*.

2.1.5 iussoque senescere Baccho: there is a play on the literal and metonymic meanings of *Bacchus*: wine can be ordered to grow old

into mature vintage (the regular term is *inueterare* or *inueterascere*, Pliny, *N.H.* 14.31; 21.76; 23.39; 23.44), but the god of perpetual youth (cf. Tib. 1.4.37 *solis aeterna est Baccho Phoeboque iuventas*) cannot seriously be ordered to become a *senex*. Cf. *Eins. Ecl.* 2.26 *languescit senio Bacchus*.

2.1.6 carpebat ... uuas: Russo sees an allusion to Spätlese – preposterously, for if the grapes had been deliberately left on the vines to ripen in profusion (*a maturare abbondantemente*) to produce a ‘sweeter and weaker wine’, they would not have been *rarae*, ‘few and far between’, when collected.

iussoque senescere Baccho implies that the grapes have been pressed, the *mustum* extracted, and the wine stored. The time of the grape harvest is always subject to seasonal variations, but in the Roman world must generally have finished before the fixed annual festival of the *Meditrinalia* on 11 October, which indicated its end (see Wissowa, *RuK*² 115), most probably by blessing the wine-press (see Latte, *RRG* 74f.). No doubt after the main harvest there might remain scattered overlooked grapes here and there, to be collected by a belated harvester in the days following ... which brings us to 13 October, the date of Claudius’ death. *uisoque* (see the *apparatus*) is weakly attested, and inept to describe maturing wine stored away.

uindemitor = *uindemiator* (metrically unsuitable here), ‘grape harvester’: not to be taken as appositional with *Hiems* (as G. Pasquali, *P.P.* 4 (1949) 47), nor as the name of the star Vindemitor in the constellation Virgo (ε Virginis), whose ‘early rising’ date was 22 August (Pliny, *N.H.* 18.309) or 26 August (Colum. 11.2.58), about a month before the autumn equinox, the earliest time for grape harvesting to begin (Varro, *R.R.* 1.34.2).

2.2 puto [sc. id] magis intellegi si dixero: *intellegi*, present, is unexceptionable as a colloquial replacement of *intellectum iri*, future (as strictly required). But the equally colloquial use of *puto* parenthetically (4.3; Suet. *Vesp.* 23.4 ‘*uae*’ inquit ‘*puto, deus fio*’; Auson. *Ep.* 23 P. *nescis, puto, quid uelim tot uersibus dicere. medius fidius neque ego bene intellego*) supports C.F.W. Mueller’s neat conjecture *puto, magis intelleges*; and the common substitution (not confined to *sermo uulgaris*) of a vivid present for a future suggests that the correct reading may be *intellegis*.

A plain prose statement to answer circumlocutory verse is a *motif* at Lucian, *Menipp.* 1–2 (Weinreich 31f.); here it is wittily exploited to provoke a reprimand (2.3).

facilius ... conueniet: cf. Lucian, *Icar.* 5 'no one of them [sc. philosophers] agreed with anyone else in anything he said, but all their statements were contradictory and inconsistent'.

The future *conueniet* conveys 'we shall find that there is agreement'; cf. Juv. 1.126 '*noli uexare, quiescet*'; KS 1. 142f.

horologia: the water-clock, *clepsydra*, was notoriously inaccurate, through mechanical shortcomings and atmospheric variability, but indoors (as at Petr. 26.9) it was the only alternative to the sundial, *solarium*. See Balsdon 17f.

inter sextam et septimam: 'between the end of the sixth hour and the end of the seventh', i.e. during the first hour after noon (poetically paraphrased below, 2.4). This was the time of the public announcement of Claudius' death (Suet. *Nero* 8 *ut de Claudio palam factum est, inter horam sextam septimamque*; Tac. *Ann.* 12.69.1 *medio diei*), chosen by Agrippina, after making arrangements for Nero's succession, as astrologically propitious (Tac. *Ann.* 12.68.3). Claudius had in fact died in the early morning (Suet. *Cl.* 44.3).

2.3 nimis rustice adquiescunt is the MSS reading. A satisfactory text must have taken into account: (1) that *rusticē* should be neutralized, or detached from *poetae* and what they consider an urbane activity; (2) that the intentional contrast between *adquiescunt* and *inquietent* should only be sacrificed for substantial advantage; (3) that miming recitation is enough to indicate that *nimis ... bonam* is spoken by an imaginary interlocutor (cf. *tibi dicere* 2.2 above), and there is no compulsion to extract *inquies*, *ais* or the like from *adquiescunt*.

Hesitantly accepted is Russo's conjecture '*nimis rustice! <adeo his> adquiescunt ...*', in preference to the twenty-four attempted emendations he records (54f., 136).

poetae ... etiam medium diem inquietent: the reference is to poetic descriptions of noon, but there is also an allusion to *salon* poets who disturb even the siesta with their recitations (cf. Sen. *Epp.* 122.11; Juv. 1.4f.).

horam tam bonam: 'good' for poetic development, and probably astrologically 'auspicious' as well.

2.4.1 iam ... Phoebus: the author summarily obliges with a paraphrase of three verses, only half as long as the first *iam Phoebus ...*, and immediately breaks into pedestrian prose.

2.4-2 fessas: cf. Ovid, *Met.* 4.634 *fessos ... axes* [sc. *Solis*], Sen. *Th.* 818f. *fessos ... currus*; *fessae habenae* by hypallage = *fessus currus*; *currus* by synecdoche = *currus et equi*.

2.4 Claudius ... poterat: colloquial parataxis is an idiom of the author's style (1.3; 2.2; 12.2), and dispenses here with the introductory *cum* (*inuersum*).

animam agere: 'to gasp' (cf. Catull. 63.31), and hence 'to gasp one's last'; cf. Mart. 1.79.4 *Attale, ne quod agas desit, agas animam*.

inuenire exitum: 'to find the way out', cf. Sen. *De tranq.* 2.8 *illa animi iactatio non inuenientis exitum*. Claudius was generally believed to have died in protracted agony (Suet. *Cl.* 44.3).

3. Prelude in heaven

3.1 Mercurius, qui ... esset (causal subjunctive): *hoc dicit derisiue Seneca G.* With no formal indication of a change of scene Mercury appears. As psychopomp (cf. 11.6; 12.1; 13.1) he was waiting impatiently to conduct Claudius' released soul to its destination, and anticipating further opportunities to make him the butt of his resourceful wit and prankish cunning: as patron god of the ready tongue and nimble limb (Hor. *C.* 1.10.1-4) Mercury could not take the mumbling, shambling Claudius seriously, and in his speech malice sparkles through his pretended concern.

unam ... e tribus Parcis: Clotho (κλώθω = 'I spin'), cf. 3.3f. below.

cesset = 'is to have a rest'. Junius conjectured *tandem* (unjustified) *cruciatus cesset*, and *cesset* is the best remedy for the MSS' *esset*. Haase's *exiet* picks up *exitum* at 2.4, but this form, instead of *exibit*, is exceptional even in late Latin (*TLL* v. 1352), and the verb *exire* = 'to die' is more commonly attested with the addition of (*d*)e *uita* (*TLL* v. 1363).

sexagesimus et quartus: Claudius was born on 1 August 10 B.C. (Suet. *Cl.* 2.1); *excessit ... sexagesimo quarto aetatis, imperii quarto decimo anno* (Suet. *Cl.* 45; cf. Dio 60.34.3).

et is regularly omitted, as in the citation above, between the ten and the digit of ordinal numerals – but not invariably: cf. e.g. Suet. *Aug.* 61.2; 100.1.

ex quo ... inuides?: 'since he has been struggling against life' – not death; he should be allowed to win – and die; why should Clotho begrudge him his death, and the state a blessed release?

A variety of persistent ailments had afflicted all Claudius' boyhood and adolescence, and left him physically and mentally handicapped (Suet. *Cl.* 2.1); in spite of good general health after becoming emperor at the age of fifty (A.D. 41), he still suffered from acute gastric pains (Suet. *Cl.* 31) and trembling, apparently febrile (cf. 6.1 *Febris* and note).

reipublicae: the progress of MSS corruption is explained in *C.Q.* N.S. 29 (1979) 154.

3.2 mathematicos: astrologers were resistant to official expulsion, by Tiberius in A.D. 16 (Tac. *Ann.* 2.32.5), by Claudius in A.D. 52 (Tac. *Ann.* 12.52.3). Their pseudoscience encouraged dangerous enquiries into a princeps' expectation of life (Tac. *Ann.* 12.52.1), and not everyone was sceptical enough to believe that their only true forecasts were those made after the event – as ironically suggested by *aliquando uerum dicere*.

horam ... natum putauit: a person's *hora* (*fatalis*: cf. Ovid, *Met.* 8.709 *auferat hora duos eadem*; *TLL* vi. 2963.30ff.) could only be known from his horoscope, which could not be cast without precise knowledge of his *hora natalis*. But in Claudius' case the author's remarks were prompted by more than gratuitous malice: the exact time of his death had been concealed by Agrippina (Tac. *Ann.* 12.68.1; Suet. *Cl.* 45), and his mental and physical defects may have been caused by premature birth in abnormal circumstances (cf. Suet. *Cl.* 3.2 *mater Antonia portentum eum hominis dictitabat, nec absolutum a natura, sed tantum incohatum*); see T. de C. Ruth *passim*.

nemo ... natum putauit: a proverbial expression from Plautus onwards for ignoring someone's existence, cf. Petr. 58.10 *qui te natum non putat*; Mart. 4.83.3f. *securus nullum resalutas, despicias omnes, | nec quisquam liber, nec tibi natus homo est*.

fac quod faciendum est: cf. Plaut. *Poen.* 956 *eum fecisse aiunt sibi quod faciendum fuit* [sc. die].

dede ... aula: Virg. *Georg.* 4.90, cited also at *De clem.* 1.19.2. Mock-heroic instructions to a bee-keeper on what to do with the 'king' bee which has lost the duel for leadership of the swarm are here wittily divested of metaphor and applied literally to the alleged *rex* Claudius in his court.

3.3 mehercules: Hercules was the patron of eminently masculine activities, and an oath by him conventionally sworn by men, exceptionally by women assuming a masculine role: cf. *hercle* as used by the

courtesan Gymnasium at Plaut. *Cist.* 52 *equidem hercle addam operam sedulo and mediusfidius* by Quartilla at Petr. 17.4.

Verba quae respondet Clotho pertinet ad Lachesim, habet enim Lachesis producere uitam. Ex quo apparet quod istae tres mutuo sibi communicant sua officia G.: see 4.1.1–2n.

pusillum ... pauculos: *sermo cotidianus* was especially fond of diminutives, with a tone anywhere between affection and contempt.

dum ... uidere: see Appendix.

constituerat ... uidere: an interjected comment of the author (as also at 5.4 *erat autem ...*); the colloquial style has a distinct taste for parenthesis.

togatos: wearing the toga was a distinctive right and, under Augustus, duty (Suet. *Aug.* 40.5) of the Roman citizen; Virg. *Aen.* 1.282 *Romanos, rerum dominos gentemque togatam.*

aliquos peregrinos ... relinqui: a comic exaggeration, for out of the world population in A.D. 48 Claudius himself as censor registered only 5,984,072 Roman citizens (Tac. *Ann.* 11.25.8).

in semen relinqui: 'to be left for seed-corn', like grain selected for sowing, cf. e.g. Colum. 2.9.11.

3.4 capsulam ... fusos: the spindles are traditional apparatus: Virg. *Ecl.* 4.46f. '*talia saecula*' *suis dixerunt 'currite' fuis | concordēs stabili fatorum numine Parcae*, and cf. Ovid, *Her.* 12.4; but the little box (*capsula*, diminutive), which cuts the fateful operation down to kindergarten size, is a novel addition.

Augurini, ... Babae, ... Claudii sound like the beginning of a nursery mnemonic in verse (cretics), and perhaps with rhyme (*Augurī | nī Bābae | Claudīī* | e.g. *Dēmēae*), to learn the order of letters in the Latin alphabet.

Augurinus is an invented name, with the diminutive suffix of endearment (cf. It. -ino in e.g. *signorino*) appended to *augur*, he who reads the signs and whose favourable *augurium* initiates an undertaking. Baba appears as a byword for stupidity at Sen. *Epp.* 15.9 *quam tu nunc uitam dici existimas stultam? Babae et Isionis?* (whence the correction for the MSS' *Badae*): there is probably an etymological connection with *babae babae*, a Greek exclamation of uncritical admiration, and *babaecali*, people who use it (Petr. 37.9 and 10). Claudius, with complete aptness in the present context, suggests *claudus* 'limping'.

For 'alphabetic' jokes, see Dornseiff 148.

uno anno ... temporum: as Russo (59) observes, *Augurinus* and *Baba* are called to fictional life only to be immediately consigned to fictional death. Critics who believe that they actually existed, died their deaths in obligingly alphabetical order, and hence cause a chronological problem in *iubebo*, are best unnamed.

tot milia ... circumfusa: most conspicuously at the celebration of his Britannic triumph in Rome in A.D. 44: Suet. *Cl.* 17.3; Dio 60.23.2ff.

4. Death of Claudius and eulogy of Nero

Decisive direction to the course of events is now given by divine powers, as so frequently in epic, and the narration itself continues in epic hexameters. Their facile elisionless flow presents expected images in formalized word-patterns with insipid blandness. There are no formal elements of parody or satire: the author makes his literary point by holding a mirror up to uninventive mediocrity (as may also be the case, at least in part, with Petronius' *Bellum ciuile*). The conventional face-value of the verse is as flattering to Nero as Seneca's *laudatio funebris* for Claudius was to him.

Apollo's words and function here have an instructive parallel in the Giessen Papyrus (cf. *Klio* 7 (1907) 278ff.), where Apollo appears, after witnessing the ascension of Trajan, to announce in person the new master Hadrian.

4.1.1-2 The three Fates (Μοῖραι, *Parcae*) are first named in Hes. *Theog.* 904-6; their functions were later individualized: *Clotho colum baiulat*, *Lachesis trahit*, *Atropos occat* (*PLM* v. 75.2), 'Clotho supports the distaff, Lachesis draws [the thread], Atropos breaks [it].' Here the last two tasks are unconventionally given to Clotho.

The Fates spin a mortal's destiny either (*a*) at his birth, as implied by Claudius' stored spindle at 3.4, or (*b*) concurrently with his life, as implied here. No coherence of concept is to be looked for; *Lachesis* apparently *starts* (*sumit* 4.1.5) to spin Nero's fate, presumably at the 'birth' of his reign, yet he himself was seventeen in A.D. 54. The intertwined threads of the two versions are disentangled by Heinze 55f.

The *locus classicus* for the Fates engaged in spinning is Catull.

64.307ff., which cannot have been Seneca's sole source of inspiration, because there they operate according to concept (a) only.

4.1.1 turpi ... fuso (of Claudius) contrasts with *formoso ... filo* v. 9 (of Nero).

stamina fuso: in these thirty-two verses there are nineteen instances of a single word repeated once again, though not necessarily with the same inflexion; six instances of a word repeated twice. In nine instances the same single word is repeated at the same position in the verse, though not necessarily with the same inflexion; there are two instances of two words together (*stamina fuso* v. 1, *tempora uitae* v. 2) repeated at exactly the same position in the verse. The author out-Lucans Lucan in his apparent insensibility to iteration (Housman, *Lucan pref.* 33), no doubt deliberately: we are surely meant to be wearied with the monotonous repetition of the banal.

4.1.2 stolidae regalia tempora uitae: eight of the thirty-two verses contain two nouns, each with attribute, necessarily making a pattern: baAB here; abAB at vv. 5, 8, 9, 13, 25; bAaB at v. 32; AabB at v. 12.

4.1.3-4 redimita comas, ornata capillos, | ... crinem ... coronans: an alliterative *tricolon abundans*, very characteristic of the style of Seneca's *Tragedies*. For an analysis of other formal stylistic elements in this section see Weinreich 49f.

redimita ... capillos suggests that Lachesis is *uitta compta*, like a Vestal Virgin. She appears here, as the Fates generally do in Greek art, as an attractive maiden, *soignée* for the occasion.

4.1.4 Pieria ... lauro ... coronans: laurel is particularly associated with the Pierian (Thessalian) Muses and their patron Apollo; here it is chosen specifically to honour the Apolline Nero.

4.1.7 assumpsere: like *neuere* v. 19, a perfect of instantaneous happening: cf. Virg. *Georg.* 1.330 *terra tremit; fugere ferae*.

4.1.8 mutatur: the white woollen thread changes to gold as if by magic touch: cf. Petr. 43.7 *plane Fortunae filius, in manu illius plumbum aurum fiebat*. Contrast (among the murals in Trimalchio's entrance-hall) *praesto erat Fortuna <cum> cornu abundanti [copiosa] et tres Parcae aurea pensa torquentes* Petr. 29.6, where, less subtly, the *pensa* are already of gold, before being spun.

4.1.9 aurea ... filo: a golden line (abAB) for the Golden Age, which is likewise spun by the Fates, to replace the Iron Age, under the

auspices of Apollo, at Virg. *Ecl.* 4.8ff. and 46f. The inauguration of a Golden Age is here prophetically forecast of Nero (cf. *Octavia* 394ff.), as it was, after the event, of Augustus by Virgil at *Aen.* 6.792ff., and its return under Nero is prominent in the pastoral poetry of his reign: treated seriously in Calp. Sic. *Ecl.* 1.42ff.; 4.5ff.; 7.74ff., treated with some irony in *Eins. Ecl.* 2.21ff. Contrast Suet. *Tib.* 59.1 *aurea mutasti Saturni saecula, Caesar: | incolumi nam te ferrea semper erunt.* For the concept and origin of the idea see H.C. Baldry, *C.Q.* n.s. 2 (1952) 83ff.

4.1.10–11: v. 10 describes the spinning of the thread *from* the flocks of wool on the distaff; there follows the different operation of gathering more flocks to put *on* the distaff in v. 11.

4.1.12 sponte sua: cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 4.45 *sponte sua sandyx pascentis uestiet agnos.* Effortless, automatic spontaneity is a regular feature of the Golden Age from Hes. *Op.* 116ff. onwards.

4.1.14 Tithoni... Nestoris annos: names as proverbial as those of Priam and the Sibyl of Cumae for longevity: cf. Ovid, *Am.* 3.7.41–2; *Priap.* 57.4; 76.4; Mart. 2.64.3; 5.58.5; Stat. *Silu.* 1.4.123ff. (where the spinning Fates are also bidden to exceed their years).

4.1.15 Phoebus adest: both as Μοιραγέτης 'Leader of the Fates' (Paus. 10.24.4), and in honour of Nero.

4.1.17 detinet intentas cantu: 'he keeps them absorbed by his singing'; *detinere* = 'to occupy, engage', cf. Ovid, *Tr.* 5.7.39 *detineo studiis animum falloque labores*; *intentus* = 'absorbed by', with the abl. at Sall. *Cat.* 2.9 *aliquo negotio intentus*; *cantu* here is ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with both.

The object of *detinet* must be expressed because, unlike its subject, it cannot be 'understood' from the immediately surrounding context. The presumed reading of the archetype, *intentus*, must therefore be abandoned in favour of the variant *intentas*.

fallitque laborem: 'and beguiles their toil', a favourite turn of phrase with Ovid: *Tr.* 5.7.39 (above); *Met.* 6.60 (= Hor. *Sat.* 2.2.12) *studio fallente laborem*; *Met.* 8.651 *fallunt sermonibus horas*.

4.1.18 fraternaue: Zeus (Jupiter) was the father of the Moirai (Parcae) by Themis, and of Apollo by Leto (Latona): Hes. *Theog.* 901ff. and 918ff. respectively.

4.1.20 laudatum: i.e. the Fates have been so engrossed in their or Apollo's praise of the work that the length has escaped their notice: an opaque concept. Maehly and Birt conjectured *laudantum* (sc. *carmina fraterna* v. 18).

ne demite: this form of the negative imperative, very rare in prose, is an archaism preserved by epic and tragic poetry, including Seneca's, not least for its metrical convenience.

4.1.21 uincat ... uitae: prayers for an extended life-span for the princeps begin with Augustus (cf. e.g. Ovid, *Mel.* 15.838ff. and 868ff.) and continue: Sen. *Cons. Polyb.* 12.5 *acta hic* [sc. *Claudius*] *diui Augusti aequet, annos uincat*; Calp. Sic. *Ecl.* 4.144f. *hunc, precor, orbem, | hos, precor, aeternus populos rege* [sc. *Nero*].

4.1.22-3 ille ... minori: Augustus' identification with Apollo had been partial and discreet, but set an imperial precedent; Nero's became total and extravagant, and gullibly and dangerously vain. According to Suetonius Nero was *uultu pulchro magis quam uenusto* (*Nero* 51), had written poetry from boyhood (*Nero* 52), and on becoming emperor dedicated himself to musical studies (*Nero* 20); later in his reign he intended to emulate Hercules in athletics *quia Apollinem cantu, Solem aurigando aequiperare existimaretur* (*Nero* 53). For the assimilation Nero-Apollo-Sol in Neronian literature cf. Calp. Sic. *Ecl.* 4.159; *Eins. Ecl.* 1.37; 2.38; Lucan 1.33ff. and 48ff.

The concept of a Roman emperor being a god, or even God, lies much deeper than the exaggerated flattery of court literature. It had developed from a number of strands of Greek and Hellenistic thought and observance, and had practical consequences of great importance in the religion and politics of the Roman empire. The beginning of a new reign was especially significant for the imperial cult: cf. e.g. Pap. Oxy. vii. 1021 'Caesar [sc. *Claudius*], a god made manifest, owed to his ancestors, has departed to them; the expected and hoped for emperor of the world has been revealed ... Nero Caesar has been revealed ...'

4.1.23-4 felicia ... saecula: see the notes on 1.1 *initio saeculi felicissimi* and 4.1.9 *aurea ... filo*.

4.1.24 legumque silentia rumpet: the laws are said to have been silent because *Claudius*' passion for playing the lawyer himself (cf. Tac. *Ann.* 11.5.1 *cuncta legum et magistratuum munia in se trahens*) had seriously encroached on normal legal activities (cf. 12.2 *iurisconsulti e tenebris procedebant*). At *De clem.* 1.1.4 Seneca makes Nero say '*legibus, quas ex situ ac tenebris in lucem euocauit*', and Nero's policy statement at the beginning of his reign in A.D. 54, that he would not himself be judge in all matters (Tac. *Ann.* 13.4.2) was one of his most popular. Cf. Calp. Sic. *Ecl.* 1.71ff.

sed legibus omne reductis | ius aderit, moremque fori uultumque priorem | reddet et afflictum melior deus auferet aeuum.

4.1.25–6 Lucifer ... Hesperus: the Morning Star, Lucifer ‘bringer of light’, and the Evening Star, Hesperus, are in fact the same *planet*, Venus, at opposite points of its solar orbit. *surgit*, ‘rises’ from the horizon, suits Lucifer only, but by a startling ἀπὸ κοινοῦ construction must also be taken with the nearer Hesperus, which in fact necessarily *sinks* towards the horizon.

Epic poetry compares its heroes to specific stars: Achilles obliquely to Hesperus (Hom. *Il.* 22.317ff.), Diomedes obliquely to Sirius (Hom. *Il.* 5.4ff.), Pallas to Lucifer (Virg. *Aen.* 8.589ff.). The practice was later adopted and established, like comparison with the sun, in the language of Hellenistic and Roman ruler-cult: cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1.7.24f. *solem Asiae Brutum appellat, stellasque salubris | appellat comites.*

4.1.29 primos ... axes: the adverbial notion ‘at first’ is often expressed in poetry, especially Virgil’s, by the adjective *primus* attached to the subject or object of the verb. *axes* is ‘poetic’ plural and ‘part for whole’: it = *currum*.

Nero is compared not merely with the sun, but with the rising sun, the harbinger of a new day, commonly addressed or faced with prayer in the ancient world.

carcere: the celestial starting-box, from which Sol drives his chariot in an arc across the sky, as if round a circus.

4.1.31 remisso: generally taken to mean ‘mild’, ‘gentle’, which consorts oddly with *flagrat*, but probably alludes to Nero’s *clementia*; contrast the hypnotic glare of Claudius at Sen. *Cons. Polyb.* 12.3 *fulgor eius* [sc. *Claudii*] *illos* [sc. *oculos*], *ut nihil aliud possint aspicere, praestringet et in se haerentes detinebit.*

4.2 With the resumption of prose there is again (cf. 2.4 *iam ... Phoebus* note) a sudden drop in stylistic level, here from the classicizing to the vulgarizing, which, with *Neroni multos annos de suo donat*, pricks the pretended seriousness of the verse.

fecit illud has the flavour of *sermo uulgaris*, in which *is, ea, id* disappeared and *ille, illa, illud* took their place, losing demonstrative force. What Lachesis did was to carry out Apollo’s instruction at v. 21 *uincat mortalis tempora uitae*. Buecheler deletes *illud*, as does Russo² (133), believing it an interpolation caused by ignorance of the absolute use of

facere = 'to respond': cf. Cic. *Brut.* 192 *si auditor omnino tamquam equus non facit*.

plena manu: 'open-handedly', 'generously', as elsewhere, e.g. Sen. *Epp.* 33.6 *non tam mendice tecum agam, sed plena manu fiet*; Sen. *Epp.* 120.10 *plena manu dantem*.

de suo: 'from her very own supply' – which was inexhaustible; cf. e.g. Sen. *De ben.* 7.4.1 *id . . . quod illi donat, ipsius est . . . de suo datur*.

iubent omnes: the subject of *iubent* is, in reverse order of their appearance in sections 3 and 4, Lachesis, Apollo, Clotho, and Mercury; its object is *omnes*, accusative as in the original Euripides cited below, i.e. all the interested parties on earth. *omnes* = *gaudium publicum* 5.1 = *omnes laeti, hilares* 12.2.

Russo (like Weinreich 51) originally took *omnes* as nominative, and accepted the suggestion of W.S. Teuffel, cited by Buecheler, χαίροντες εὐφημοῦντες; the unexpressed object of *iubent* is then to be 'understood' as elsewhere with this verb (KS 1. 717). But later (Russo³ 137) he was persuaded to prefer the accusative of the original as cited by Plut. *Mor.* 615D.

χαίροντας, εὐφημοῦντας ἐκπέμπειν δόμων: Eur. *Cresphontes* fr. 449 v. 4 Nauck Teubner²: 'to send forth from the house, rejoicing and speaking fair [the man who has died and ceased from toils]'. In the Greek the accusative plural is necessitated by the construction, unanimously attested by the MSS which preserve the fragment, and confirmed by Cicero's translation at *Tusc. disp.* 1.48.115.

The original context recommends grief (for future woes) at a birth, and joy (for troubles past) at a death – the opposite of common practice. But the present context invests the quotation with cynical irony: people are to rejoice not for Claudius' release from mortal misfortunes, but for their release from him.

animam ebulliit: 'gurgled his life out'. The same slang vulgarism occurs at Petr. 42.3 and 62.10. *ebullire* is used intransitively at Pers. 2.9f. 'ο si | *ebulliat patruus, praeclarum funus!*', where the scholiast explains it of the bubbles (*bullae*) which gurgle in the neck of a flask as the liquid is poured out. There may be an allusion to Claudius the gourd, now emptied of the last drops of life (see the Intro. p. 4).

uiuere uideri: in the author's view Claudius' actual existence was not an established fact, any more than his membership of the human race (5.4 *uisus est quasi homo*).

dum comoedos audit: comic actors had been introduced, as if at Claudius' request, to conceal the fact that he was already dead (Suet. *Cl.* 45).

me ... timere: the author seems to imply humorously that if the comedians could *cause* Claudius' death (through boredom?), they could cause his own as well. Friedlaender's *amare* (for *timere*), if acceptable, would give less devious sense. *aestimare*, without *magni* or the like, is hardly possible.

4.3 ultima uox: 'famous last words' are an indispensable ingredient of biographical history. Practically every Roman emperor was credited with some. Nero's reluctance to commit suicide was to allow time for a whole series (Suet. *Nero* 49.1-4). Claudius had failed to oblige official history with a single one, and our 'historian' supplies one. His inspiration seems to have been not Claudius' concern about unrelieved flatulence – he was said to have contemplated an edict to allow farting at table (Suet. *Cl.* 32), but the crucial evacuation of the bowels which helped to defeat the first attempt to poison him (Tac. *Ann.* 12.67.1) (as it was also to do for his son Britannicus: Tac. *Ann.* 13.15.6).

qua ... loquebatur: Greek popular comedy knows of κυρία πορδή, 'Lady Fartwell', and πρωκτός λαλῶν (Aristophanes), 'Sir Chatter Ringanus'; cf. also Dante, *Inf.* 21.139 of the devil captain: *ed egli avea del cul fatto trombetta*.

facilius: 'more easily' than with his mouth. Claudius' speech-defect is a leitmotiv of the satire (5.2; 5.3; 6.2; 7.2 and 4; 11.3; 14.2).

uae me: *uae* is normally followed by a dative (of disadvantageous interest). The common use of the accusative in exclamations may explain why it has replaced it here and at Plaut. *Asin.* 481 and Catull. 8.15.

puto: parenthetic, as in Vespasian's last recorded words: '*uae* inquit, *puto, deus fio*' (Suet. *Vesp.* 23.4); see the note on 2.2 *puto magis intellegi*.

concacauit: *concauauit*, the presumed reading of the archetype, is less likely to be a simple mistake than a deliberate, though nonsensical, bowdlerization; the brain behind L, less squeamish, will have made the necessary correction.

an fecerit nescio: *nescio* (or *haud scio*) *an* = 'I am inclined to think'.

omnia certe concacauit: cf. Aurelius Victor, *Caesares* 4.12 *ita liberti ... omnia foedabant*. After *concacauit* the Ed. Princ. interpolates: *Nec post*

boletum opipare medicamentis conditum plus cibi sumpsit (cf. Juv. 5.147f.; Suet. *Cl.* 44.2; Tac. *Ann.* 12.67.1). But our author is silent about the cause of death, yet knowledgeable about the circumstances – a strong pointer to Seneca: see the Intro. p. 8.

5–7. Claudius at the gates of heaven

5.1 postea: after the death of Claudius.

scitis ... audite: see the note on *scis* ... *interrogaueris* 1.2.

excidant: 'fall from memory'; the absolute use is common, cf. e.g. Publil. 828 *bene cogitata si excidunt non occidunt*, but the verb may be supplemented with *de* or *e(x) animo* or *memoria*; the dative *memoriae* in place of the latter is exceptional and (cf. *TLL* v. 1239) attested only here as a variant and at Petr. 56.10 *quae iam exciderunt* [Hadrianides: *ceciderunt* cod. H] *memoriae meae*.

quae memoriae gaudium publicum impresserunt: with *impress-*, *quae* nom. and *gaudium* acc. give a less expected sense than *quae* acc. and *gaudium* nom. This edition therefore hesitantly keeps (with Faber and Ussing) what appears to have been the reading of the archetype as the *lectio difficilior*, rather than adopting any conjecture based on it, or the *impressit* of the usually wayward s-family. The true reading may possibly be *quae memoriae <per> gaudium publicum impress<a>erunt*: when the last two words were run together, *per* will have become a superfluous obstacle to the sense and omitted.

memoriae: dat. with *impresserunt*, cf. Cic. *Acad. pr.* 2.11.34 *menti(?) impressa*.

in caelo quae acta sint: the author now replaces the mask of the 'historian' which he had assumed at the very beginning, 1.1. Resumptive prefaces are a not uncommon feature of historiography.

fides penes auctorem erit: the *auctor* is that of 1.2, Livius Geminus. Sallust uses the same phrase at *Iug.* 17.7 and Pliny at *N.H.* 17.93. But Seneca himself was sceptical of this cliché of 'historians'; *Q.N.* 4.3.1 *quod historici faciunt et ipse faciam: illi cum multa mentiti sunt ad arbitrium suum, unam aliquam rem nolunt spondere, sed adiciunt 'penes auctores fides erit'*.

The language of Tacitus, describing Messalina's wedding to C. Silius (*Ann.* 11.27.1f.) is exactly that of a serious historian disclaiming any connection with pseudohistory: *haud sum ignarus fabulosum visum iri ... sed nihil compositum miraculi causa, uerum audita scriptaque senioribus tradam*.

5.2 nuntiatur Ioui: by whom? That a personal agent is involved is clear from *quaesisse se* and *intellegere se* following. Hermes = Mercury discharges the function of concierge at Ar. *Pax* 179 and at Lucian, *Icar.* 22, but cannot do so here because in his rôle in this work he has intimate acquaintance with Claudius already. The functionary must be a flunkey or majordomo who, in the loose style of the work, need not be explicitly mentioned by a supplement like *<a ianitore> nuntiatur* (Friedlaender), or even Wachsmuth's ingenious *nuntiat <ianit>or.*

quendam: Claudius, who suddenly appears in heaven. He is kept waiting outside the gates until the end of section 7, and his admission must be mentioned, if at all, in the lacuna which follows. His ascension is not even alluded to; but the descent to Hades is described (11.6), and this unoriginal topic made novel by a starting-place in heaven.

bonae staturae: cf. Suet. *Cl.* 30 *auctoritas dignitasque formae non defuit ... praecipue quiescenti, nam et prolixo nec exili corpore erat.*

bene canum: cf. Suet. *Cl.* 30 *specie canitieque pulchra.* *bene* (= *ualde*) became in colloquial speech an all-purpose reinforcing adverb like *sane* 5.3, and later established itself, unlike *sane*, in the Romance languages; cf. *optime* 5.1 = *certissime*.

minari ... caput mouere: cf. Suet. *Cl.* 30 *caput cum semper, tum in quantulocumque actu uel maxime tremulum* (= Dio 60.2.1). Claudius' involuntary shaking of the head is here taken as a threatening gesture: cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1.5.57ff.

assidue: see the *apparatus*. S, the *codex optimus*, writes the word as both the last of one page and the first of the next: a type of error which most people make at some time. Gertz accepted both as genuine.

pedem dextrum trahere: see the note on 1.2 *non passibus aequis*, and cf. Suet. *Cl.* 21.6 *non sine foeda uacillatione discurrens*. Here alone the right foot is specified, with an oblique glance at its auspiciousness: *pes dexter* = *secundus* (Virg. *Aen.* 8.302) = *faustus* (Hor. *Epp.* 2.2.37); Claudius never could put his 'best' foot forward.

perturbato sono et uoce confusa: cf. Suet. *Cl.* 4.6 (Augustus' letter to Livia) *qui tam ἀσαφῶς loquatur*; Suet. *Cl.* 30 *linguae titubantia*; Dio 60.2.2.

non intellegere se linguam eius: cf. Petr. 73.3 (*Trimalchio*) *coepit Menecratis cantica lacerare, sicut illi dicebant qui linguam eius intellegebant.*

5.3 Herculem: as ἀλεξικάκος 'avertter of evil' (cf. Lucian, *Alex.* 4), able to deal with Claudius the monster, *portentum* (Suet. *Cl.* 3.2 in the note on 3.2 *horam*), cf. 5.3 *monstra*.

Hercules appears in one of his comic guises: the much travelled, monster-slaying Greekling, shockable, gullible, blustering, cowardly and ridiculously prone to believe in his own tragic image. He has much in common with the Herakles of Aristophanes' *Ranae*. In Aristophanes' *Pax* 180f. Herakles 'avertter of evil' is invoked by Hermes, porter of heaven-gate: perhaps the germ-idea (not present in Menippus: Weinreich 61) for the author's thoroughly Roman description of the confrontation of Hercules *paratragicus* and Claudius. But the caricature of Hercules acquires a uniquely extra element of travesty if its audience had already read Seneca's *Hercules Furens* (dates of composition both earlier and later than A.D. 54 have been suggested).

qui ... pererrauerat et ... uidebatur: the causal nuance of the clause might be expected to be made explicit either by *quia*, the actual reading of Ll, or by a subjunctive verb; but the indicative is not uncommon in such circumstances, as at Juv. 10.248f. *felix nimirum, qui lot per saecula mortem | distulit*: cf. KS II. 292f.

ire et explorare: the 'explanatory' *et* is invariably found after *ire*: cf. 13.2 [i] *celerius ... et nuntia*; Juv. 10.166 *i ... et ... curre*; Plaut. *Amph.* 1075 *ibo et cognoscam*.

ut qui etiam non omnia monstra timuerit: a contorted expression, once vexed with a variety of emendations, including the replacement of *etiam* by *uicta* (Baehrens), or of *non omnia* by *Iunonia* (Gronov) or *noua Iunonia* (Orelli) or *non enormia* (Gertz), or of *timuerit* by *domuerit* (Nic. Faber and Lipsius). More recently both Ball 176 and Russo 67f. have asserted that the paradoxos makes sense, and have made different sense of it. Ball gives 'even though he was one who didn't fear any sort of monsters', taking *ut qui* as concessive, *non* with *timuerit*, and *omnia* = *quaequam* (!). Russo translates '*come se non avesse ancora affrontato ogni specie di mostri*', taking *ut qui* = *ut si*, *etiam non* = *nondum* (cf. Plaut. *Ps.* 280), *timuerit* with the pregnant sense of *sustinuerit* (cf. Weinreich 63f.) (!).

Better is 'because he has still not had occasion to fear *all* monsters', with *ut qui* in its usual causal sense, and *etiam non* = *nondum*. His shock was caused by the fear which, in keeping with his comic guise, he is represented as having felt for all previous monsters, and which is now experienced anew for yet another, Claudius.

ut uidit ... faciem ... uocem: grammatically, a type of zeugma; but *uidere* is not uncommonly used with terms denoting both sight and sound (e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 8.529) or the latter only (e.g. Hor. *Sat.* 2.8.77f.; Prop. 2.16.49).

marinis beluis: presumably seals, also mentioned in connection with Claudius at Juv. 3. 238 *eripient somnum Druso uitulisque marinis*.

tertium decimum laborem: the twelve canonical labours of Hercules became one of the tritest pieces of mythology, not least because the Stoics and Cynics had adopted him as their patron saint. At Lucian, *Fug.* 23, *Anth. Gr.* 16.92.13f. and elsewhere he is comically credited with a thirteenth, but nowhere in a context of such biting wit as this. Contrast, in tragic contexts. [Sen.] *H.O.* 258ff., and especially Sen. *H.F.* 1282 *ingens opus, labore bis seno amplius*.

5.4 intuenti [sc. Herculi] ... accessit [sc. Hercules]: the situation is clear and quite intelligible. This colloquial and choppily paratactic style does not aim, like periodic prose, to sustain attention on the same grammatical subject, but on the same logical subject. M.L. Earle's conjecture in *C.R.* 19 (1905) 303, *uenis<se>; se<d> diligentius* is neat but superfluous.

Graeculo: a contemptuous diminutive, cf. Juv. 3.77f. *omnia nouit | Graeculus esuriens; in caelum, iusseris, ibit*.

τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν, ποίη πόλις ἡδὲ τοκῆς: 'Who are you, and from where? What kind are your city and parents?' This line occurs in Homer: at *Od.* 1.170 it is spoken by Telemachus to Athene disguised as Mentes, except that the MSS of Homer, and of Lucian, *Icar.* 23 where the line is also quoted, offer not ποίη but πόθι τοι, 'where then?' If ποίη, the reading of the archetype, is correct, the author may simply be misquoting Homer, as Cicero does at e.g. *Ad Att.* 2.11.2: memory is a fallible guide, and the commonest book-format of antiquity, papyrus scrolls, made reference-checking very laborious. The slip would be explained if he was half-remembering the following line *Od.* 1.171 ὁπποίης τ' ἐπὶ νηὸς ἀφίκεο; or *Od.* 1.406f. ποίης ἐξ εὐχεται εἶναι | γαίης. But Homeric verses, and this one in particular (cf. esp. Diog. Laert. 4.46f.) had a long history of parody and humorous misapplication (Weinreich 68): ποίη has point as an anticipation of the satirist's own view, soon to be expressed, of the condition of Claudius' city – sacked.

philologos homines: their enthusiasm for learning, especially language-study, is clear to Claudius from their ability to quote a well-

known verse of Homer in the original. Claudius had been very fond of doing the same: Suet. *Cl.* 42.1 *multum uero pro tribunali etiam Homericis locutus est uersibus*. But *philologi*, including Claudius, ranged further afield; they were men *multiplici uariaque doctrina* (Suet. *Gram.* 10); and their activities were disfavoured by Seneca the philosopher (Sen. *Epp.* 108.24 and 30f., and *De breu.* 13.1ff.).

The educated bilingual Roman was not well advised to use Greek except in private communication with his own kind. Cicero's letters to Atticus and other friends abound in Greek words and quotations, but his official attitude was *sermone eo debemus uti, qui innatus est nobis, ne, ut quidam Graeca inculcantes, iure optimo rideamur* (*De off.* 1.31.111). Claudius had ignored this rule, and was accordingly ridiculed (Dio 60.16.8).

The uneducated colloquial use of (imperfectly) Latinized Greek words like 7.1 *alogias*, and by the characters in Petronius, is an entirely different matter.

historiis suis: Claudius' literary output was considerable (Suet. *Cl.* 41f.; fragments, chiefly transmitted by Pliny in the *Naturalis historia*, are assembled by Peter, *H.R.F.* 295). His specifically historical works were (1) in Latin: a Roman history from the murder of Julius Caesar in two books, discontinued because of family pressure from Antony's relatives; forty-one books of Roman history from the end of the civil war – presumably one book for each year from 27 B.C. to A.D. 14; (2) in Greek: twenty books of Etruscan history and eight books of Carthaginian history – these he ordered to be read publicly every year in the Old and Claudian Museums at Alexandria, and these are probably uppermost in the author's mind here. His other works were: an autobiography in eight books; a defence of Cicero against publications of Asinius Gallus; a book recommending the introduction of three new letters to the Latin alphabet; a manual on dice-playing (Suet. *Cl.* 33.2).

Ἰλιόθεν με φέρων ἀνεμος Κικόνεσσι πέλασεν: 'the wind, carrying me from Ilium [Troy], brought me to the Cicones': Odysseus to Alcinous at Homer, *Od.* 9.39. All Caesars continued Julius Caesar's claimed descent from Aeneas, son of Priam, king of Troy, so Claudius says *Ἰλιόθεν, Caesarem se esse significans*. He had shown respect for the Trojan legend (Suet. *Cl.* 25.3; Tac. *Ann.* 12.58.1), and given an exhibition of the *lusus Troiae* (Suet. *Cl.* 21.3).

The coastland of the Cicones, savages like other Thracians, was Odysseus' first landing place after leaving Troy. Claudius, more Greek

than the Greeks, had fallen among βάρβαροι, *barbari* – the Romans themselves, as the author's following sarcastic parenthesis makes clear.

aeque Homericus: suspected by Buecheler. Are the words a pointful tautology (Ball, Weinreich, Russo), or a pointless gloss (notably B. Axelson, *Gnomon* 24 (1952) 236)? Probably the former, with a side glance at the practice, common in both Hellenistic and Roman life and Menippean satire, of capping one quotation from Homer with another: cf. Lucian, *Symp.* 12; *Pisc.* 3; and especially Arrian, *Diss. Epict.* 3.22.92, where Alexander, coming upon the sleeping Diogenes, quotes *Il.* 2.24 which is capped by the half-awake Diogenes with the immediately following verse *Il.* 2.25.

[Ἰσμάρωι] ἔνθα δ' ἐγὼ πόλιν ἔπραθον, ὤλεσα δ' αὐτούς: 'to Ismarus, where I sacked the city and killed the men', the immediately 'following verse', Homer, *Od.* 9.40. Ismarus, the name of a mountain range and a settlement near the coast of southern Thrace, immediately north of Samothrace, is omitted so that the reader can more readily supply what the author considers to be its analogue – Rome. Claudius' comparatively bloodless annexation of Thrace in A.D. 46 is not in point.

6 'Then enter the comic Hercules and the disputatious Fever, and diction of the most breezily colloquial character becomes abundant' (Ball 72). It is notable in the frequent, stressing, personal pronouns and the indignant *ego tibi dico* and *quod tibi narro* (cf. Petr. 64.2 ... *cum Trimalchio 'tibi dico' inquit 'Plocame, nihil narras? nihil nos delectaris?'*).

6.1 **imposuerat ... nisi fuisset:** *imponere* = 'to impose [sc. one's own weight] on someone' is a colloquialism in Cicero's letters: cf. e.g. *Ad Q.F.* 2.5.3 ... *Catonis, cui tamen egregie imposuit Milo noster*. The indicative in place of the usual subjunctive *imposuisset* is due 'to sheer rhetorical exaggeration, whereby what might have happened is vividly presented as a fact', Woodcock 157; but the construction is not exclusively colloquial, cf. e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 11.112 *nec ueni, nisi fata locum sedemque dedissent*.

Herculi minime uafro: see the *apparatus*. The archetype's nonsensical *fabro* may be due to a scribe's 'internal dictation', the sound of *Febr-* imposing itself on the original word. *uafro* is corrupted to *fabrum* in Ps. Asconius at Cic. *Verr. sec.* 1.141. In Junius' conjecture *Herculi homini minime uafro*, *homini* produces the regular construction, in which a proper name is not directly qualified by a characterizing attribute, but

there are exceptions to this even in classical prose: KS 1. 226f. *minime uafro* alludes to the traditional gullibility of *Hercules comicus*, cf. e.g. Ovid, *Her.* 9.113.

Febris is here represented as a scolding hag. *Fever* was however not a literary fiction but an authentic and established *numen* of Roman religion, which aimed at securing a right relationship with all supernatural powers by encouraging the beneficent and vice versa. Malaria, 'marsh fever', threatened Latium from the mosquitoes bred in the undrained Pomptine marshes.

Febris had a shrine on the Palatine (Pliny, *N.H.* 2.15f.; cf. Cic. *N.D.* 3.25.63; Cic. *De leg.* 2.11.28; Val. Max. 2.5.6) and so had been a neighbour of Claudius in the Palace. But *cum illo tot annis uixi* seems to imply more: that he was a chronic sufferer from malarial fever, one of whose symptoms, shivering and shaking, would have been indistinguishable from his habitual trembling: see the notes on 5.2 *caput mouere* and 6.2 *solutae manus*.

sola cum illo: the author does not say that Claudius died of a fever, but seems to insinuate as much; even more significantly, he nowhere mentions the generally accepted cause, poisoning (Suet. *Cl.* 44.2; Tac. *Ann.* 12.67.1).

ceteros ... reliquerat: the subject of *reliquerat*, as of the preceding and following verbs, is *Febris* (Heinze 59) not Claudius (S. Eitrem, *SO* 15-16 (1936) 122n.), for *ceteros omnes deos* would imply that he too was an established god, against the whole plan of the satire. The only deity to have forsaken Rome to accompany Claudius was a disease; all the others had stayed protectively and would, presumably, bless the advent of Nero. The apparent inconsistency between gods simultaneously present in their temples on earth (7.4f. *Hercules*, 9.2 *Janus*, 9.4 *Diespiter*), and active in heaven, is not an oversight of the author, but a revealing reflection of the confusion of popular belief.

mera mendacia: 'unadulterated lies'; *sed mera narrantur mendacia* Mart. 2.56.3; cf. the equally alliterative *mera mapalia* 9.1.

tot annis: cf. 6.1 *multis annis*; 7.4 *totis diebus*; 8.2 *toto anno*. The distinction between time 'during which' (accusative) and 'within which' (ablative) was never so finely observed among writers of Latin (even purists: Ter. *Ad.* 520, 527; Caes. *B.G.* 1.26.5) as among grammarians. The durative sense already present in *totus* etc. helped the glide to the ablative.

Luguduni natus est: Claudius was born at Lugdunum (Lyons), just north of the boundary between Gallia Lugdunensis and Gallia Narbonensis, on 1 August 10 B.C., when his mother Antonia was accompanying her husband Drusus to his campaign against the Germans: Suet. *Cl.* 2.1 and Dio 54.36.3f.

The primary MSS here vary between *Lugdunum* and *Lugdunum*, as do inscriptions; *Lugud-* occurs in e.g. *ILS* 886 (below).

Munati municipem: 'a fellow-townsmen of Munatius'. *ILS* 886 *L. Munatius ... Plancus ... in Gallia colonias deduxit Lugdunum et Rauricam*, as Seneca knew, *Epp.* 91.14 [*colonia Lugdunensis*] *a Planco deducta ... conualuit*. These colonies must have been founded when he was governor of Transalpine Gaul in 44–43 B.C.; they did not acquire their full official titles, which in both cases included *Augusta*, before Octavian himself was granted the title *Augustus* in 27 B.C. – on the proposal of L. Munatius Plancus.

Marcus Antonius unconstitutionally secured a five-year command of Gallia Cisalpina and Comata in June 44 B.C., and *quinarii* (coins worth half a *denarius*) were struck by him at Lugdunum (cf. A. de Boissieu, *Inscr. ant. de Lyon* (Lyon 1846–54) 125–132), but none of this associates him distinctively with the colony there, even if *praenomen* alone could designate him unambiguously. The unanimous MSS reading *Marci* must be abandoned.

At L. Munatius Plancus' triumph in 43 B.C., shared with Marcus Lepidus, the mocking soldiery, in their favourite rhythm (catalectic trochaic octonarii, cf. Suet. *Iul.* 49.4), chose to advertise the fratricide-by-proxy of their commanders: Vell. 2.67.4 '*de germanis, non de Gallis, duo triumphant consules*.' This may well have supplied Seneca with the same pun in the next sentence. For the homoeoarcton *Mun- mun-* cf. 8.3 *stulte, stude*.

ad sextum decimum lapidem ... a Vienna: Vienna (Vienne), in Gallia Narbonensis, once the capital of the Allobroges, is referred to by Claudius himself, *CIL* XIII. 1668: *ornatissima ecce colonia ualentissimaque Viennensium*. 'At the sixteenth milestone from Vienne' seems a disparaging way of describing Lyons; the two *coloniae* were antagonistic rivals (Tac. *Hist.* 1.65), but the reason for adopting a viewpoint from Vienne only emerges with the following *Gallus germanus*.

Gallus germanus: a pregnant pun. (1) There is no distinction between *germanus* 'a sibling', 'genuine', and *Germanus* 'German' in speech

or capital script. (2) Puns had already been made on this ambiguity: cf. Vell. 2.67.4 quoted above, and Cic. *Phil.* 11.6.14 *germanum Cimber occidit*. (3) Claudius would have been a 'genuine Gaul' from the point of view of Gallia Narbonensis, Romanized and made a province (Provence) before Caesar's Gallic Wars. He had been born on the wrong side of a border of whose historical and cultural importance he was himself well aware: between discussing Vienna and Lugdunum he says *tempus est iam, Ti. Caesar Germanice, detegere te patribus conscriptis quo tendat oratio tua; iam enim ad extremos fines Galliae Narbonensis uenisti*, *CIL* XIII. 1668.

quod ... oportebat: an allusion to the capture of Rome in 390 B.C. by the Gauls led by Brennus was also made by Claudius himself: Tac. *Ann.* 11.24.9 *capti a Gallis sumus*.

Romam cepit takes up 5.4 πόλιν ἔπραθον κτλ.

recipio: 'I pledge, guarantee', a frequent sense in Cicero's letters: cf. e.g. *Ad Att.* 5.17.5 *mihi in Cumano diligentissime se, ut annui essemus, defensurum receperat*.

Licinus ... regnavit: Licinus, born in Gaul, slave and then freedman of Julius Caesar, was appointed procurator of *Gallia Lugdunensis* by Augustus, and held office 16–15 B.C. (contrast *multis annis*). By ruthless and ingenious extortion he amassed vast riches (Dio 54.21.2ff.), claiming, when detected by Augustus, to have done so for his benefit. His name became a byword as the type of unscrupulous *nouveau riche*: Sen. *Epp.* 119.9 and 120.19; Pers. 2.36; Juv. 1.109 and 14.306; Mart. 8.3.6.

The spelling *Licinus* is guaranteed by the metre in the verse authors cited above; the misspelling *Licinius* is offered by the MSS of prose authors: the archetype here; Sen. *Epp.* 119.9 and 120.19; Suet. *Aug.* 67.1; Dio 54.21.1ff. (cf. the note on 1.2 Geminus).

tu autem: Febris continues to address Hercules (Buecheler takes *tu* to refer to Claudius, but *excandescit hoc loco* clearly indicates an interruption. Moreover Claudius was not a noted traveller; *calcasti* could only ironically refer to a cripple; and road-building, which was extensive in Gaul during Claudius' principate, is different from road-tramping.)

qui plura loca calcasti: cf. Sen. *H.F.* 533ff. *intrauit Scythiae multiugas domos | ... | calcauitque freti terga rigentia | et mutis tacitum litoribus mare*.

In Greek mythology Herakles, as his tenth canonical labour for Eurystheus, killed the three-bodied Geryon and robbed him of his cattle on the island of Erytheia near Cadiz; Hes. *Theog.* 287ff. Roman mythology supplied details of his homeward route to Argos: he

passed through the site of Rome (Virg. *Aen.* 8.200ff.) and of Lyons (7.2 below).

In cult, both in Rome and in the provinces, Hercules was the patron and protector of those who travelled the roads and sea-lanes for trade.

perpetuarius is not attested elsewhere in literature. At Juv. 3.34f. *municipalis harenae* | *perpetui comites*, *perpetui* implies 'travelling around'. The sense here requires 'long-distance' rather than 'long-serving' or 'always engaged'. Friedlaender 1^o 331 rightly explains it of a muleteer who offered himself, vehicle, and mules, for hire for any journey however long, instead of merely for a specific stage between fixed points.

[**Lugudunenses**] **scire debes**: see the *apparatus*. *Lug(u)dunenses* is the reading of the archetype α; *et* after *debes* the reading of the hyparchetype β. Editors who keep both explain *scire* as used 'by a species of zeugma' with both a personal and a factual object. But its immediate proximity to the former, where *cognoscere* or *nouisse* is required – *scire* in this sense is very rare and late – makes this implausible. It is more likely that *Lugudunenses* is an intrusive gloss (on *Rhodanum*?), to be excised with Buecheler, and *et* an obvious supplement.

Gertz proposed *Lugudunensis* (agreeing with *mulio*), citing Strabo 4.1 who says that Agrippa made Lugdunum the centre from which Roman roads were cut, and inferring that muleteers there would have travelled oftener and further than others.

Xanthum et Rhodanum: Xanthus is a river of the Troad, the site of Ilium; Rhodanus is the Rhône which flows through Lyons.

6.2 excandescit...irascitur: Claudius was irascible by nature, knew it, and was sorry for it (Suet. *Cl.* 38.1). But his anger here is provoked by *Febris*, who, not being a *homo philologus*, has taken Claudius' learned allusion Ἰλιόθεν κτλ. as a literal statement of fact.

quid diceret nemo intellegebat: Claudius' speech-defect was apparently aggravated by anger, when he used to foam at the mouth and trickle at the nose (Suet. *Cl.* 30).

ille autem ... collum praecidi: heavy punctuation should follow *iubebat* (as Rossbach), rather than *solebat* (as most editors), because the latter makes *iusserat ... praecidi*, standing alone, read like a botched interpolation with *iusserat* repeating the sense of *iubebat* and *collum praecidi* a gloss on *duci*. Yet *illo ...* would be improved by an introductory conjunction, perhaps *atque*.

duci: sc. *ad supplicium uel sim.*, cf. 13.4 *quos Narcissus duci iusserat*. This absolute use of the verb is not uncommon in Silver Latin.

solutae manus: 'his uncontrollable hand': cf. Dio 60.2.1 'he was sickly in body, so that (among other things) his hands shook'.

decollare: originally 'to remove [a burden] from the neck', it came in Silver Latin to mean 'to decapitate'.

omnes: only Febris and Hercules have been named as present, though a *ianitor*'s presence is implied – cf. 5.2n. *nuntiatur Ioui*. Again, the author is concerned with satiric exaggeration at the expense of consistency – cf. 6.1n. *ceteros . . . reliquerat*.

libertos . . . curabat: Claudius was notoriously subservient to his powerful freedman secretaries, as well as to his wives: Suet. *Cl.* 25.5, and 29.1 *his* [sc. *libertis*] . . . *uxoribusque addictus non principem sed ministrum egit*; Dio 60.2.4. His final fate in this satire is to serve a freedman as secretary.

7.1 fatuarius: here 'to play the fool [*fatuus*]'; at Justin 43.1.8 it means 'to prophesy' (*Fatuus* the inspired *Faunus*); cf. the similar double meanings of *hariolari* and *uaticinari*.

ubi mures ferrum rodunt: where even 'tim'rous beasties' gnaw iron, what must the human, let alone superhuman, inhabitants be like! The proverb has the same value at Herod. 3.75f. where the schoolmaster tells the daredevil ruffian schoolboy that he could not be disposed of even *δκου χώρης* | *οἱ μῦς ὁμοίως τὸν σίδηρον τρώγουσιν* 'the land where, all in the same way, the mice gnaw iron', for he is not amenable to even nightmarish intimidation.

Mice gnaw iron, and other animals perform impossible feats, only in the wonderland of fairy tales and myths. Geographical knowledge later localized these iron-gnawing mice on the lonely island of Gyarus (or Gyara) in the Cyclades, whose inhabitants, according to Theophrastus in Pliny, *N.H.* 8.222, were once chased out by them. See further Weinreich 74f.

Under the Roman Empire Gyarus became notorious as a prison (Juv. 1.73; Tac. *Ann.* 4.30.2; Plut. *Exil.* 8 = *Mor.* 602c). Hercules intimidates Claudius by telling him that he has arrived on Gyarus, implying that he, and no longer any judicial victim of his, has been condemned to *deportatio in insulam*, a severe penalty involving loss of citizenship and of the right to make a will, and generally confiscation of

property as well. Seneca, with his own *relegatio in insulam* in mind, turns the tables on Claudius.

citius mihi uerum: colloquially elliptic, cf. 13.2 *celerius . . . et uenire nos nuntia*. *Sermo cotidianus* preferred the comparative forms *citius*, *celerius*, *ocius*, *tardius*, *serius* to the positive forms, with no significant difference of meaning: LHS II. 168f.

ne tibi . . . excutiam: cf. Cic. *Sulla* 24 *excutient tibi istam uerborum iactationem*.

alogias: 'irrationalities', 'absurdities'; a plebeian Grecism, doubtfully attested at Petr. 58.7.

et quo terribilior . . . ait: Hercules now assumes his declamatory tragic mask, but the author soon removes it at 7.3.

tragicus fit: *Hercules paratragicus* speaks verses of brilliant invention. The iambic senarii flow with Senecan smoothness: in fourteen verses there are only six elisions of *-e*, and one of *-am*. The subject-matter and the phraseology bear a close resemblance to those of the *Hercules Furens*. The diction contains elements of the high style of tragedy: *cluas* v. 1; *profatu uocis* v. 4; *mobile eduxit caput* v. 5; *edissere* v. 6; *altrix* v. 14. The first section, vv. 1–6a, with end-stopped lines, contains command, threat, inquiries, command, *edissere* v. 6a making a miniature 'ring composition' with *exprome* v. 1; the second section, vv. 6b–13, is built up of a single, highly elaborated period, whose main verb, *uidi* v. 9, is preceded by a mythological ecphrasis and followed by a topographical one, and ends with a single-line question, picking up the first section.

Assuming an exalted tragic guise is a Menippean motif: at Lucian, *Pisc.* 39 the author makes his character Frankness prefer to express herself 'more in the tragic style, because that's grander' and so to quote Euripides. Our author composes his own 'tragic' verses.

All the features of *Hercules tragicus* are here. The parody results from the situation he is put in, and the situation he describes: the style suits a superman confronting a monster, not a coward bullying a defenceless paralytic.

7.2.1 exprome: also the first word, with a following indirect question, at Sen. *Oed.* 510 and *Ag.* 419; cf. also Livy 2.12.12 . . . *nisi expromeret propere* . . . *Pace* all previous editors of this text, the MSS unanimously offer the unmetrical *exprome*, which was first corrected by Rhenanus.

clu(e)o: a Greek word, κλύω, naturalized in the earliest Latin

drama, both comedy and tragedy; in sense it = the prosaic *dicor* and *perhibeor*, with the same personal construction, *genitus (esse)*.

7.2.2 hoc ... accidas: cf. Sen. *H.F.* 1296 *hoc en peremptus spiculo cecidit puer* (spoken by Hercules).

stipite: *stipes*, = *claua* in the following verse, is used of Hercules' club at Sen. *H.F.* 1029, 1119, 1230, 1232.

ad terram accidas: cf. Plaut. *Rud.* 8 *et alia signa de caelo ad terram accidunt*, so here *ad terram*, 'to the ground', has the extra humorous possibility 'to the earth' *de caelo*.

7.2.3 reges ... feros: cf. *regis feri* Sen. *H.F.* 518.

7.2.4 quid ... sonas: again the motif of Claudius' speech-defect.

profatu: 'utterance', not in Seneca's *Tragedies*; cf. in a similiar context of stuttering speechlessness Hor. *Sat.* 1.6.57 *infans namque pudor prohibebat plura profari*.

7.2.5 mobile: cf. 5.2n. *caput mouere*.

eduxit: 'reared'; but in *mobile eduxit caput* there may be an allusion to the circumstances of Claudius' birth, cf. Varro *ap. Non.* 447.33 *educit obstetrix* and see the note on 3.2 *horam*.

7.2.6 edissere: 'expound', the first word of the verse also at Sen. *Ag.* 966.

equidem ... pecus (v. 8): for the mythological content cf. Sen. *H.F.* 231ff., 487, 1170 and *Ag.* 840f. *duxitque ad ortus Hesperium pecus*, | *Geryonae spoliū triformis*, and see the note on 6.1 *qui plura loca calcasti*.

7.2.7 Hesperio mari: *Hesperii maris* Sen. *H.F.* 1140.

7.2.8 Inachiam ad urbem: *Īnāchus*, the god of the river Inachus, was the legendary founder-king of Argos: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 7.792.

aduexi pecus: the only other place where an animal is the object of *aduehere* is Sen. *H.F.* 604 *qui* [i.e. *Hercules*] *aduexit* [sc. *Cerberum*]: *TLL* 1. 827.

7.2.9 duobus ... fluuiis: the Rhodanus (Rhône) and the Arar (Saône).

iugum: Seneca knew the area from autopsy: *Epp.* 91.10 *ciuitas ... uni ... imposita et huic non latissimo monti*. The *iugum* is to be identified with the east-facing escarpment on which stands the Basilique Notre Dame de Fourvière, which is orientated: from here the view eastwards takes in the nearer Saône and the further Rhône flowing roughly parallel – the contrast in current is evident – and southwards to their confluence.

7.2.10 ortu ... obuerso: *obuersus* = 'opposite [to], facing'; the rising sun strikes the hill full on.

7.2.11 Rhodanus ... praerapido: cf. Sen. *Q.N.* 3.27.8; 4a.2.20.

7.2.12 Ararque ... agat: cf. Caes. *B.G.* 1.12.1 *flumen est Arar, quod ... in Rhodanum influit incredibili lenitate, ita ut oculis, in utram partem fluat, iudicari non possit.*

7.2.13 tacitus ... uadis: cf. Pliny, *N.H.* 3.33 *fertilissimus Rhodanus amnis ex Alpibus se rapiens per Lemannum lacum segnemque deferens Ararem ...*

7.2.14 tellus ... altrix: cf. Pacuv. *Trag.* 404 R² *Calidonia altrix terra exuperantum uirum.*

7.3 haec satis animose ... **μωροῦ πληγῇ:** the author amusingly starts to comment on Hercules' tirade as if he really were Hercules *tragicus*: 'he said this spiritedly and bravely enough; all the same, he is not in full possession of his faculties (i.e. *furit*, as suits Hercules Furens), and fears a blow from' – but here the author twists the usual 'a god', expected in the context of serious tragedy, to 'a fool'.

mentis suae non est: a genitive of description (quality) with *esse*, cf. e.g. Ter. *Andr.* 608 *tam nulli consili sum*; as at Cic. *In Pis.* 50 *mentis suae esse = mentis compos esse*, 'to be in control of one's wits', 'to be in one's right mind'.

timet μωροῦ πληγῇ: θεοῦ πληγῇ, 'a blow of a god', means an unexpected misfortune: cf. Soph. *Ajax* 278f. *δέδοικα μὴ 'κ θεοῦ | πληγῇ τις ἦκει*, 'I'm afraid some blow is going to come from a god'; Eur. *Cret.* 30 *ἔκρυψα πληγὴν δαίμονος*, 'I concealed a god's blow'; Soph. *fr.* 961 *θεοῦ δὲ πληγὴν οὐχ ὑπερπηδαῖ βροτός*, 'a mortal does not leap over a god's blow'.

For 'god', as Claudius had officially become, the author substitutes 'fool', as also at 8.3. He was not the first to say so. Claudius had claimed that he had deliberately feigned stupidity to save his life from Gaius; nobody believed him, and shortly afterwards a book was published entitled *μωρῶν ἐπανάστασις* 'An Insurrection of [or against] Fools' (Suet. *Cl.* 38.3). A litigious Greekling, in hot dispute with Claudius as judge, let slip the remark *καὶ σὺ γέρων εἰ καὶ μωρός*, 'You are both an old man and a fool' (Suet. *Cl.* 15.4). After Claudius had been poisoned, Nero *morari eum desisse inter homines producta prima syllaba iocabatur* (Suet. *Nero* 33.1), with a play on *mōrari* and *mōrari* = *μωραίνειν*.

uirum ualentem: the use of present participles as attributive adjectives, here in place of the established *ualidus*, is not confined to, but characteristic of, *sermo plebeius*, and the colloquial tone is supported by the alliteration of *u-*. 'When Claudius saw the tough guy, he stopped

quibbling, realizing that though nobody had been on an equal footing with him at Rome, he did not have the same amount of influence *there*.'

oblitus nugarum: 'forgetting his trifling', a popular expression which occurs also at Petr. 71.4 and 136.5.

illic: sc. *ubi mures ferrum rodunt*, 7.1.

gallum in suo sterquilino plurimum posse: 'that a cock is supreme only on his own dunghill', a saying which here has a double allusion to Claudius who (1) *omnia certe concacauit*, 4.3, and (2) was a *Gallus*, 6.1: for the same pun cf. Suet. *Nero* 45.2 (the revolt of Vindex) *ascriptum et columnis, etiam Gallos eum* [sc. *Neronem*] *cantando excitasse*.

7.4 quantum intellegi potuit: cf. 5.2n. *perturbato sono et uoce confusa*.

adfuturum: *adesse* = 'to be present and support', especially of counsel or friendly witnesses in a court of law – the background context of the rest of this chapter.

si qui ... petisset: either *si quis* [L^o] *petisset*, or *si qui petissent* [J.A. Richmond] would be normal phraseology.

notorem: a witness who vouches for someone's identity (*cognitor* in classical Latin): cf. Sen. *Epp.* 39.1 *qui notorem dat ignotus est*; Petr. 92.11 *at ego ne mea quidem uestimenta ... recepissem, nisi notorem dedissem*.

tibi: both the insistent personal pronoun and the ethic dative are entirely appropriate to both sense and style.

Buecheler's conjecture *Tiburi* is speciously alluring. Suet. *Aug.* 72.2 *ex secessibus praecipue frequentauit* [sc. *Augustus*] ... *proxima urbi oppida, Lanuium, Praeneste, Tibur, ubi etiam in porticibus Herculis templi persaepe ius dixit*; i.e. Augustus, on *villeggiatura* at Tibur, nevertheless continued to administer justice, in the temple-colonnade of that town's patron deity, Hercules – as he might have done in the temple precinct of Fortuna at Praeneste: it was an obvious place for any official, not excluding Claudius, to conduct business at Tibur. But there is no evidence that Claudius shared Augustus' special liking for the environs of Rome. A specific temple of Hercules seems to be referred to here: it could well be that of Hercules Victor, the temple of Hercules nearest the Palatine (and not far from the Tiber, cf. Dio 60.33.8).

ius dicebam: cf. 12.3.22f.; Suet. *Cl.* 14 *ius et consul et extra honorem laboriosissime dixit, etiam suis suorumque diebus sollemnibus, nonnumquam festis quoque antiquitus et religiosis*; Dio 60.4.3 'Almost every day, either with the whole senate or on his own, he would sit on a tribunal trying cases, mostly in the Forum, but sometimes elsewhere.'

totis diebus mense Iulio et Augusto: 'for whole days in the month of July and of August'; for the ablative cf. 6. in. *tot annis*. July and August were months of slack business in the law-courts, but not of authorized vacation -- certainly not under Claudius: cf. Suet. *Cl.* 23.1 and *Galba* 14.3. Pliny, *Epp.* 8.21.2 observes *Iulio mense, quo maxime lites interquiescunt*, and August too had its share of festivals and *dies nefasti*, as well as Claudius' own birthday on the 1st, all of which others, if not Claudius, would wish to observe; both months are usually uncomfortably hot in Rome.

7.5 quantum ... cum ... in quod si ... licet: Russo sees here a deliberate reflection, with parodic intent, of Claudius' encumbered style in his official pronouncements. There is certainly the same egocentric familiarity and naive confidentiality.

quantum illic miseriarum contulerim: the 'miseries' have generally been taken to mean those suffered by Claudius: the insulting way he was buttonholed by lawyers (Suet. *Cl.* 15.3) and their raised voices if he dozed off when holding court (Suet. *Cl.* 33.2). This requires a verb meaning 'endure, put up with'. Hence Haase conjectured *tulerim*. Ball believes that *contulerim* can yield the required sense with *con-* being an intensive prefix of the *sermo plebeus*, but this is nowhere attested, whereas *contulerim* in the sense 'I amassed', his alternative suggestion, is.

But *miseriarum* can legitimately be taken = 'the woes, complaints' of the litigants, made more melodramatic and unbearable by their counsels, cf. *plus ego stercoris exhausti* 7.5: this allows *contulerim* to bear its common sense 'I compared', sc. the (de)merits of rival claims, either by listening to them or by reading them, cf. 10.4 *antequam de causa cognosceres, antequam audires*.

In a letter of 6.9.82 Professor J.A. Richmond makes the neat and plausible conjecture *tum tulerim*.

causidicos: pejorative, as elsewhere, e.g. Cic. *De or.* 1.46.202; Tac. *Dial.* 1.1 Claudius reviewed a sea of troubles while the lawyers ranted on.

quod: see the *apparatus*; *quos* is printed by almost all editors on the flimsiest MSS support; *quod* should certainly be kept; it refers back to *quantum miseriarum*, which is picked up by the following *stercus*.

cloacas Augeae purgare: Hercules' sixth canonical labour was to clean out the sewers of the stables, uncleaned for thirty years, of the three

thousand cattle of King Augeas (Hygin. *Fab.* 30; Serv. *auct.* on Virg. *Aen.* 8.299). It was appropriate for comparison in other contexts as well, and became proverbial: cf. Varro, *Men.* 70B *non Hercules potest, qui Augear egessit κόπρον*.

8-11 In the senate of heaven: Augustus' indictment

Seneca took both the overall idea of a council of the gods, and the special feature of the admission, judgement and expulsion of gods of dubious worth, from the tradition of Greek Menippean satire. Menippus' methods of satirizing what had previously been an epic situation can be plausibly guessed by retro-inference from a number of Lucian's works including *Icaromenippus* and *Deorum concilium*. He was most probably the first to give the meeting of the gods the form of an official session of a public council with contemporary procedure.

Roman literature too had precedents. Naeivius, *Bell. Poen.* frs. 22-4 R² possibly, Ennius, *Ann.* frs. 60-6 V³ and Virgil, *Aen.* 10.1ff. certainly, had presented meetings of the gods, as well as continuing other conventional features of serious epic. Lucilius frs. 4-54 M had developed the topic satirically, and Ovid, *Met.* 1.163ff. with hints of humour. But Seneca seems to have gone further than any of his predecessors in Romanization, and in detailed equation of the council with the Roman senate. He did so deliberately, with literary intentions far beyond local colouring. The Roman senate, at Agrippina's instigation, had decreed deification, not an automatic honour, for Claudius. The satirist passes his judgement by creating a senate of gods, using identical formal procedure, to reject Claudius' claim to godhead.

In arranging the speeches of the gods the author followed a natural and effective pattern. The decisive part of the debate follows Jupiter's intervention to impose orderly procedure. The speakers then are *Ianus pater*, *Diespiter* and *diuus Augustus*, respectively against, for, and – decisively – against Claudius. These are authentically native Roman gods. Those who speak before them, in the lacuna and section 8, when proceedings were disorderly, may have been gods of Greek origin who were comparative newcomers to the Roman pantheon (as suggested by Weinreich 93f.).

8.1 *non mirum quod ... The lacuna must have contained (1) the end of Claudius' speech, enlisting Hercules' support for his claim to

divine status and hence membership of the celestial senate; (2) Hercules' agreement, perhaps with some kind of bargain (cf. 9.6 *mea res agitur*), his violent entry into the senate-house with Claudius, and his report of Claudius' request to be deified; (3) a general uproar of parliamentary indignation and ridicule which, in spite of Jupiter's intervention from the chair permitting only orderly questioning (9.1 *interrogare uobis permiseram*), degenerated into a debating shambles (9.1 *uos mera mapalia fecistis*); (4) the beginning of the speech, which continues after the lacuna, addressed to Hercules by a single unidentifiable deity hostile to Claudius and, to judge from the range of his quotations, well educated.

Weinreich's admittedly speculative suggestions (80ff.) about the content of the lacuna deserve attention. The author could hardly have neglected the opportunity to caricature the imitably rambling style and quaintly familiar tone of Claudius' own speeches. If Seneca followed senatorial procedure consistently, Claudius will have been granted an audience, and spoken to his petition, between stages (2) and (3) above. Claudius may have justified his claim by reference to his success as a presiding judge; he may even have suggested himself as continuing that office in heaven (cf. 8.3 *hic nobis curua corrigit?*). Hercules' eagerness to champion Claudius would have been caused by attractive promises, and perhaps also an appeal to the honour of the self-made deity to help a claimant whose services to mankind were no less. *Febris* will no doubt have disappeared before Hercules and Claudius enter through heaven's gate. The first sentence after the lacuna suggests that Hercules made the same forcible entry through the gate of heaven as through the gate of hell (cf. Ar. *Ranae* 460ff.; Sen. *H.F.* 64f. *caelo timendum est, regna ne summa occupet | qui uicit ima*). A detailed picture of the topography of heaven is very unlikely, since neither the journey to heaven nor the whereabouts of the gate of heaven are so much as mentioned. But if a setting for the *concilium deorum*, the kernel of the whole work, was desirable, the author could have chosen to parody Ovid's spacious description of the Augustan heaven in *Met.* 1.168ff. (the *Metamorphoses* are referred to at 9.5). More likely is a violent intrusion of Hercules and Claudius into a senate already in session immediately after forcing their way through the gate of heaven.

At least one complete *folium* of a *codex*, either the archetype or an ancestor of it, must have been lost.

nihil tibi clausi est: for the probable context, see above.

clausi: the variant *clusi* is preferred by Rossbach, and this popular form, certainly correct in the mouth of Trimalchio at Petr. 63.8, is also found in Seneca's *Letters* cf. Sen. *Epp.* 91.12 *statusque per clusa uiolenti*. The partitive genitive (*clausi*) which Seneca affects after such words as *nihil* and *quid* is preferable to the variant *clausum*.

qualem deum: the speaker humorously ignores the possibility that Claudius might retain his identity within the conventional religious framework, and tries to classify him in exclusively philosophical terms of reference.

οὔτε αὐτὸς ... ἄλλοις παρέχει: independent self-sufficiency is the chief characteristic of the gods as conceived by Epicurus and his followers: cf. Diog. Laert. 10.139 τὸ μακάριον καὶ ἀφθαρτον οὔτε αὐτὸ πράγματα ἔχει οὔτε ἄλλωι παρέχει, 'what is blessed and imperishable neither has any troubles itself nor gives any to another'; Cic. *N.D.* 1.17.45 *quod beatum aeternumque sit, id nec habere ipsum negotii quicquam nec exhibere alteri*; Cic. *De off.* 3.28.102 (... *alteri*). In the Schol. Townl. on Homer, *Il.* 24.526 the citation, as here, has the singular πρᾶγμα'.

ἔχει τι can legitimately be extracted from the MSS, with Haase. The citations above give the singular ἄλλωι (*alteri*) and this, or rather αλ(λ)οι, is the reading of β = VL; S clearly gives ἄλλοις.

rotundus: the Stoics identified their god with the cosmos, which they thought of as perfectly spherical: cf. Cic. *N.D.* 1.8.18; 1.15.39; and their perfect man, the *sapiens*, was also in *se ipso totus, teres atque rotundus* (Hor. *Sat.* 2.7.86). Extensions of this concept led to ridicule: cf. Sen. *Epp.* 113.22 *si rotundam* [sc. *figuram*] *illis* [sc. *uirtutibus*] *qualem deo dederint, quaeram an et auaritia et luxuria et dementia aequae rotundae sint*.

rotundus ... praeputio: Varro, *Men.* 583 B *Varroni quae tribuuntur, prope absunt ab senario 'rotundus est, sine capite, sine praeputio'*. The context, and so the complete meaning, of the line is not recoverable, but *praeputio* makes it clear that *rotundus* and *capite* are to be interpreted in a literal, physical sense.

nec cor nec caput: 'neither intelligence nor individuality'. *cor* and *caput* are now used in a non-literal, applied sense. *cor* = 'the organ of sense and judgement' is common; cf. e.g. Petr. 59.2 *et tu cum esses capo, cocococo, aequae cor non habebas*; Suet. *Iul.* 77 (Julius Caesar's riposte to a *haruspex*) *nec pro ostento ducendum, si pecudi cor defuisset*. *caput* = 'a man's individuality' in a physical or civil sense.

The deity of the Stoics was impersonal and, if associated with their notoriously absurd tenets, also senseless.

Claudius' absent-mindedness and ineptitude (Suet. *Cl.* 39.1 *in eo mirati sunt homines et obliuionem et inconsiderantiam*) were compounded by his unassertive complaisance towards his wives and freedmen.

8.2 mehercules: this human oath is comic enough when uttered by a deity, as also by Clotho 3.3, more so when actually addressed to Hercules.

cuius ... princeps: the festival of Saturn, originally perhaps of an agricultural nature, initially occupied one day only, 17 December, but was gradually extended, and established by Claudius as lasting five days (Dio 60.25.8). Unofficially the holiday was even further prolonged: with *mensem* here cf. Sen. *Epp.* 18.1 *December est mensis: cum maxime ciuitas sudat. ius luxuriae publicae datum est; ingenti apparatu sonant omnia, tamquam quicquam inter Saturnalia intersit et dies rerum agendarum; adeo nihil interest ut <non> uideatur mihi errasse qui dixit olim mensem Decembrem fuisse, nunc annum.*

The point here is not only that Claudius was addicted to banquets (Suet. *Cl.* 32), but that he always officially behaved like a Saturnalian King (*Saturnalicus princeps* for *S. rex*), who was chosen, by throwing dice, to be the Lord of Misrule during the festival. As such he could command all other members of the party to perform whatever absurdity. Nero was chosen for the imperial family's party at the Saturnalia of A.D. 54 in the first December after Claudius' death: Tac. *Ann.* 13.15.2. For the festival itself see Baldson 124f.

toto anno: see the note on *tot annis* 6.1.

Saturnalicus: a neologism, formed like other popular coinages, with the suffix *-icius*, and taken up by Martial: 5.19.11; 5.30.8; 7.91.2; 10.17.1.

illum deum ... quem ...!: see the *apparatus*. The overall sense of the preceding and following clauses makes it clear that *ab Ioue* balances *a Saturno*, and that some kind of break in the sense must therefore occur after *tulisset*.

Gronov's neat but drastic solution *illud, nedum ab Ioue quem* has been generally accepted by editors. Russo prints the MSS' reading *illum deum ab Ioue...?*, claiming that *fieri* can be 'understood' on the ground that some part of this verb is sometimes omitted, but in the examples he cites, Tac. *Ann.* 4.20.5 and Cic. *De diu.* 2.68.141, it is a subjunctive in an

indirect question. Omission of *feri* is not possible here, because there is no part of *facere/feri* or one of its synonyms in the surrounding context to 'supply' it from, because what is assumed to be the expressed agent *ab Ioue* requires an expressed passive verb, and, most of all, because the omission of the infinitive in an exclamatory accusative and infinitive construction is intolerable. Mariotti suggests that *feri* should be supplied materially. Palaeographically more acceptable is *induci*, or perhaps *immitti*. For the exclamatory (indignant) accusative and infinitive without the introductory *-ne*, see KS I. 720f.

damnauit incesti: *incesti* is genitive of the charge. Claudius, by condemning Silanus, retrospectively condemned Jupiter also, for he had set the example: cf. e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 1.46f. (of Juno) *Iouisque | et soror et coniunx*; Hom. *Il.* 16.432.

Silanum: mentioned again at 10.4 and 11.5. L. Iunius Silanus Torquatus, a great-great-grandson of Augustus, was the son of M. Iunius Silanus M. f. Torquatus, cos. A.D. 19 (perhaps referred to at Tac. *Agr.* 4.1), and of Aemilia Lepida, great-granddaughter of Augustus through her mother Julia, daughter of M. Agrippa and Julia, daughter of Augustus. He was born about A.D. 24. In the first year of his reign, A.D. 41, Claudius betrothed his younger daughter Octavia to him, and thereafter elevated his status with a number of exceptional honours and appointments. By A.D. 48 Agrippina had formed plans for a marriage alliance between Octavia and her son Nero. Silanus' unguarded affection for his sister Iunia Caluina was distorted into a charge of incest by Vitellius, who, as though still censor, struck Silanus off the senatorial roll. He committed suicide early in A.D. 49, choosing the day of Claudius' marriage, unprecedentedly incestuous in Roman custom, to his brother's daughter, Agrippina. See Tac. *Ann.* 12.3.2; 12.4.1ff.; 12.8.1f.; 13.1.2; Dio 60.5.7; 60.21.5; 60.31.7f.; Suet. *Cl.* 24.3; 27.2; 29.1f.

'oro, per <quid>?' quod: see the *apparatus*. This is Russo's conjecture. *oro te* is not uncommonly used parenthetically in questions, like *precor* and *quaeso*. *per quid? quod ...* will have been the antecedent of Italian *perché?* (*per ciò*) *che ...* and French *pourquoi?* (*parce*) *que ...*

Buecheler's *propter quod* might, if paralleled, be acceptable as the *sermo vulgaris* equivalent of *propterea quod*, also suggested by him.

The possibility that the phrase originated as the intrusive comment of a pious copyist, moved by Silanus' murder to think and write 'oro pro eo' = *oro pro eo*, cannot be rejected out of hand.

'oro, per <quid>?' should be printed as a quotation. The archetype readings *inquit* and *inquis* following are both perfectly consistent with a vividly realized dramatic situation. The speaker is represented as quoting the words he catches, or pretends to catch, from an interrupter, not Claudius who is referred to as *hic* (*nobis curua corriget?*), but sympathetic to him. This must be *Hercules comicus*, foolish and ignorant (cf. *stulte, stude*), his capacity for expression limited to homely proverbs (*mures molas lingunt*, cf. *manus manum lauat* 9.6). With *inquit* the speaker quotes his words to the senate of gods; with *inquis* he turns back to address him directly.

festiuissimam omnium puellarum: Iunia Caluina was *sane decora et procax*, Tac. *Ann.* 12.4.1. At the time her brother committed suicide, she was exiled from Italy, Tac. *Ann.* 12.8.1f.

uocarent: the subjunctive is sub-oblique: 'whom everyone was said to call...'

maluit Iunonem uocare: see 8.2n. *damnauit incesti*. There may be a hint that Silanus had dynastic plans to supplant Claudius, for in the language of ruler-cult brother-sister marriage could confer exalted status: cf. *Octauia* 219ff. (the Nutrix to Octavia) *tu quoque, terris altera Iuno, | soror Augusti* [sc. *Neronis*] *coniunxque, graues | uince dolores*; 533ff. (Seneca to Nero) *implebit* [sc. *Octauia*] *aulam stirpe caelesti tuam | generata diuo, Claudiae gentis decus, | sortita fratris, more Iunonis, toros*.

Claudius, anxious for Octavia, had believed a charge denied by the cynical Tacitus: *Ann.* 12.4.2 *fratrumque* [viz. *Silanus* and *Caluina*] *non incestum, sed incustoditum amorem ad infamiam traxit* [viz. *Vitellius*].

For the form of expression cf. Plaut. *Bacch.* 217 *ni nactus Venerem essem, hanc Iunonem dicerem*.

8.3 inquit: see the note on 'oro per <quid>?' *quod* ... above.

quaero enim: 'I want to know', not uncommon in Cicero's speeches, cf. e.g. *Cluent.* 23.62.

stulte, stude: alliteration of this kind is characteristic of (quasi-) proverbs.

Athenis ... totum: 'you can go half-way at Athens, all the way at Alexandria' in the closeness of relationship allowing marriage. At Athens marriage was permitted between children of the same father, but not of the same mother also: Cimon's marriage to his half-sister Elpinice is the best-known case (cf. Plut. *Cim.* 4.7). At Alexandria the

Ptolemies practised marriage between full-brother and full-sister. Claudius' own marriage to his brother's daughter had precedent in Sparta: Hdt. 5.39.1; 7.239.4.

quia 'Romae' inquis 'mures molas lingunt', hic . . .: for *inquis* see the note on '*oro per <quid>?*' *quod* . . . above. Punctuation should detach *quia* from the quoted words.

mures molas lingunt: a phrase, otherwise unattested, with a proverbial air and a disputed meaning. *Molae* can mean either 'millstones' or '[salted] meal'. Mice do not lick the latter, they eat it.

The best sense to be got is 'the mice lick the millstones', as they naturally do – *Λειχομύλη*, 'Millstone-licker', is the name of a mouse at *Batrachomyomachia* 29 – if there is a scarcity of corn or flour more readily available, as there is in a well-ordered household where storage is secured against them.

Rome is the analogue of the well-ordered household. At Alexandria permissiveness is total, at Athens partial, but at Rome non-existent. At least that is what the interrupter, supporting Claudius, asserts, implying that Claudius' severity in punishment is at least a symptom, more probably a cause, of this.

This interpretation was partly anticipated by H. Lackenbacher, *WS* 45 (1927) 126–9.

hic nobis curua corriget?: 'will this be the man to straighten the crooked for us?'. *curua corrigere* seems to be a proverbial phrase, perhaps related to Hes. *Op.* 7 βεῖα δέ τ' ἰθύνει σκολιὸν . . . [Ζεὺς], for trying to achieve the impossible by severity: cf. Pliny, *Epp.* 5.9.6 '*inuenimus qui curua corrigeret! quid? ante hunc praetores non fuerunt? quis autem hic est, qui emendet publicos mores?*' Cf. also *CIL* 1. 1438 (*sortes Praenestinae*) *conrigi uix tandem quod curuom est factum, [c]rede*.

corrigit: the time reference here is significant and Sonntag's *corrigit* makes it explicit, though for a present indicative with future reference cf. 2.2n. *intellegi*.

quid in cubiculo suo faciat nesci[o]et: iam 'caeli scrutatur plagas': 'he will not know [if he becomes a resident *diuus* in heaven] what he is doing in his own bedroom: he is already "searching heaven's zones"'. *nesciet* is the editor's conjecture; for the corruption presupposed see the *apparatus* at 9.5 where S offers *moetamorfoſis* for *meta-*.

'caeli scrutatur plagas' is part of a quotation from Ennius' *Iphigenia* fr. 244 V³ *quod est ante pedes nemo spectat, caeli scrutantur plagas*,

'nobody looks at what is before his feet, they scan the heaven's zones'.

The second half of the line, adapted with *scrutatur* sing. to Claudius, is a clear allusion to his *μετεωρία*, 'star-gazing', with perhaps a side glance at his aspirations to a place in heaven: Suet. *Cl.* 39.1 *inter cetera in eo mirati sunt homines et obliuionem et inconsiderantiam, uel ut Graece dicam, μετεωρίαν et ἀβλεψίαν*.

The first half of the line would equally clearly have alluded to his *ἀβλεψία*. It was no doubt at the back of the author's mind when he wrote *quid ... nesciet*, which must therefore refer to Claudius' characteristic heedlessness of what was going on under his nose in his own and his sexual partners' affairs: cf. e.g. Tac. *Ann.* 11.28.1 ... *dum histrio cubiculum principis insultauerit, dedecus quidem inlatum ...*; and such affairs could involve hearing a prosecution on a capital charge *intra cubiculum*: Tac. *Ann.* 11.2.1.

The MSS reading, *quid ... nescio et iam ...*, was emended by Buecheler to *quid ... nescit, et iam*, which is accepted by a number of editors. But the sense it yields is neither clear nor pointed.

deus fieri uult? Russo prints this as a question, which is more lively than a bald statement.

templum ... colunt: in the Roman colony established at Camulodunum (Colchester) in A.D. 49 (Tac. *Ann.* 12.32.4), the temple to Claudius became a focus of discontent during the rebellion of Boudicca in A.D. 60-1: Tac. *Ann.* 14.31.6 *ad hoc templum diuo Claudio constitutum quasi arx aeternae dominationis aspiciebatur, delectique sacerdotes specie religionis omnis fortunas effundebant*. Cf. *Anth. Lat.* 1.1.419.3R *Oceanusque tuas ultra se respicit aras*.

<hunc> nunc: this suggestion of Russo's should be adopted: cf. *hunc nunc* at 11.3. The *eum* of the s-family MSS shows how awkward the lack of a direct object of *colunt* is felt to be.

ut deum, whose sense is already implicit in what precedes, and which clumsily anticipates the surprise of what follows may, as suggested by Mariotti (Russo⁵ 140), be an intrusive gloss.

μωροῦ εὐελάτου τυχεῖν: 'to chance upon the fool in a gracious mood'; *μωροῦ* is substituted for *θεοῦ*, as at 7.3 *μωροῦ πληγὴν*, in a formulaic expression of prayer or curse: cf. e.g. *μὴ γένοιτο εὐελάτου τυχεῖν Δάματρος*, 'may an encounter with a gracious Demeter not occur', in an inscription from Corcyra: see C. Wachsmuth, *Rh.M.* 18 (1863) 370-3.

τυχεῖν, infinitive, as commonly after *orare* in poetry and post-

Augustan prose. The archetype of the MSS has the last syllable as -χην, from which Waltz extracted *τύχην*; but the infinitive, restored with the rest of the Greek by Lindemann and Schneidewin in Buecheler's first edition, is clearly preferable.

9.1 tandem: a pointer that one folium must be considered the minimum lost in transmission; a whole quaternion's loss is not impossible.

tandem ... mentem: 'at last it occurred to Jupiter that ...': a hint at the incompetence and senility of the chairman of the senate of gods.

priuatis ... morantibus: private citizens, who had not held a magistracy and so were not members of the senate, were required to remain in the *uestibulum* of the *curia*, except when summoned in connection with a *relatio*: cf. Cic. *Phil.* 2.44.112; Livy 2.48.10; Livy 3.41.1ff.; Livy 45.24.12.

Priuati never had any right *sententiam dicere*. Claudius has not attempted to speak at all – at least in the text as we have it – and he is the only *priuatus* in question (cf. 9.2 *illo dimisso*). *priuatis ... morantibus* must therefore be an ablative absolute; *nec disputare* requires *sententiam dicere* to be negated in some way, and both verbs must then be attached to the only persons who did have a right to propose a motion and debate, viz. the senators. Buecheler's supplement *senatoribus non licere* before *sententiam dicere*, with both homoeoarchon and homoeoteleuton playing a part in the omission of the phrase, is the best suggested emendation.

interrogare ... permiseram: in the lacuna, presumably, Jupiter had given the senators permission to question Hercules, and perhaps Claudius too, in connection with his formal proposal that Claudius should be admitted as a god.

But the true reading may be *interrogari*. Jupiter as chairman had signified that 'the question be put'. Regular procedure, after Sulla, required the consuls designate to be asked first – as they are (cf. 9.4 *et ipse designatus consul*) after Jupiter has restored order; but in the preceding shambles this procedure had been ignored.

mera mapalia: 'an utter shambles'. *mapalia* literally means 'a shepherd's hut'. Its passage into slang is explained by Festus 132.9 L: *mapalia casae Punicae appellantur, in quibus quia nihil est secreti solet id uocabulum solute uiuentibus obici*. The metaphorical sense is attested only in the alliterative phrase *mera mapalia* here, and restored with certainty, at Petr. 58.14.

uolo ... curiae: for a similar rebuke cf. Lucian, *Deor. conc.* 1.

qualiscumque: with the disparaging tone it often has, cf. e.g. Catull. 1.8f. *quare habe tibi quidquid hoc libelli | qualecumque*.

existimauit is the reading of the archetype, and there is no compelling reason to join editors who abandon it in favour of the s-family's *existimabit*: 'what opinion has he formed of us?' makes perfect sense, even though a future perfect *existima(ue)rit* might have been expected.

9.2 illo dimisso: presumably from the debating-chamber to at least the threshold of the *uestibulum*, from where he would still be visible to be addressed and referred to by Augustus as actually present at 10.3, 10.4, 11.1, and 11.3. This seems more likely than to suppose that he is no longer visibly present, and that the author has either forgotten or is simply carried away by a rhetorically apostrophizing mannerism (as Weinreich 92 n. 1).

interrogatur sententiam: a construction where the label 'retained accusative' really is appropriate, for the internal accusative which limits the application of the active verb in *interrogat illum sententiam* is retained with the passive of the verb: see Woodcock 10.

primus ... Ianus pater: *ianus* means 'passageway', and Janus was essentially the god of transition, and hence of its most important aspect, a new beginning: cf. *mensis Ianuarius*. In a sequence of deities in prayers, oaths, etc., he is always named first: cf. Cic. *N.D.* 2.27.67. This explains why he is the first to be asked his opinion, and hence why he is cast as *consul designatus*.

pater in Roman religion, as in Roman society, was primarily a status-term; the idea of fatherhood was secondary.

is designatus erat in kal. Iulias: 'he had been appointed to take office on 1 July'. Under the Republic, from Sulla onwards, consuls were elected by the people in the *comitia centuriata* in July; the successful candidates became *consules designati* from then until they took up their year-long office as consuls on 1 January (from 153 B.C. onwards). But under the Empire, with the abolition of the *comitia centuriata*, the princeps either assumed the office himself or designated the candidates, who held office from two to four months only: the frequency of honorary short-term appointments seems part of the author's satiric point.

postmeridianus consul: 'consul for the afternoon', 'siesta-time consul'. Augustus had required only two obligatory plenary sessions of

the senate each month, on or near the Kalends and the Ides, when the consuls and consuls-designate could not easily have absented themselves. Janus seems to have been appointed not only to take office on 1 July, but only for that day, indeed only for that afternoon. The senators might continue their session into the afternoon, but without urgent business they presumably ceased work at midday, like the rest of the governing class, and went home to lunch and a siesta, *meridiatio*.

Janus' consulship will then have been the shortest of short-term sinecures. *meridianus* < *meridies* < *medidies* < *medius dies*. *Diespiter*, his colleague, may have been in a comparable position (?*consul in diem*).

1 July inaugurated the second half of the calendar year. Janus holds office then, unlike the consuls who gave their names to the year for calendar purposes, who took office on the 1st of the month named after him.

Claudius had designated no consuls beyond the month of his death (Suet. *Cl.* 46). Nero himself took up the consulship, with L. Antistius Vetus, on 1 January A.D. 55, and his intention to do so was no doubt previously announced, and probably known to the author of the satire.

homo: 'a fellow', of Janus the god!

homo ... ὀπίσσω: ἄμα πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω, 'forwards [into the past] and backwards [into the future] at the same time', occurs a number of times in Homer to describe old men's experience of the past and foreknowledge of the future: Priam at *Il.* 3.109; Halitherses at *Od.* 24.451f. The phrase is applied in a strictly literal sense to Janus, who had no connection with prophecy or divination in Roman cult, because he was represented as *bifrons*, i.e. with two faces on opposite sides of the head.

in foro implies that the author is thinking of Janus' statue in the precinct of the double archway of Ianus Geminus, over the passage-way leading to the Argiletum and thence to the Quirinal. From there his 'vision' was strictly confined to the extent of the street he dominated, 'his very own street', *uia sua*.

quantum uia sua fert: 'as far as his own street leads'. The reading of the archetype gives good sense. Ronconi's *quantum uisus fert* avoids the topographical uncertainty of *uia sua*, but is a humourlessly vapid qualification of the following clause. Rhenanus' *quantumuis uafer*, though ingenious and accepted by a majority of editors, is not necessary – unlike Junius' *uafer* for *fabro* at 6.1.

quod in foro uin(eb)at: this is Buecheler's emendation for the archetype's *quod in foro uiuat*, whose present subjunctive can only tortuously be justified. Janus is implied to have learned his eloquence by living so near to the centre of Rome's forensic life, the *rostra*, the *curia*, and the lawcourts; and his own arcade was the centre of Rome's banking business (Hor. *Sat.* 2.3.18f.; *Epp.* 1.1.54f.).

notarius: a word first occurring here, = 'stenographer', using a system of shorthand developed from the *notae Tironianae* of Cicero's secretary Tiro: cf. Sen. *Epp.* 90.25; Quint. *I.O.* 7.2.24; Pliny, *Epp.* 3.5.15. One or more *notarii*, or *actuarii*, were no doubt employed in preparing the publication of a Roman Hansard, the *senatus acta diurna*, instituted by Julius Caesar as consul in 59 B.C. (Suet. *Iul.* 20.1).

non refero ... dicta sunt: even within the pretence of impartial and objective truth (cf. *nihil ... dabitur* 1.1 and note), this is a humorously disingenuous excuse, for even the most scrupulous historian did not feel obliged, even had he always been able, to report speeches verbatim. Tacitus, for instance, at *Ann.* 11.24, drastically restyles Claudius' 'Lyons' speech.

9.3 Fabam mimum: the 'Bean' farce. Buecheler saw the close relationship between this passage and Cic. *Ad Att.* 1.16.13 *uidesne consulatum illum nostrum, quem Curio antea ἀποθέωσιν uocabat, si hic factus erit, fabam mimum futurum?* In both there is a clear contrast between apotheosis and the 'Bean' farce. Interpreters differ about which of the numerous Greco-Roman associations of the bean is relevant. Russo 89f. posited a contrast between beans as the staple subsistence diet of common people and the ambrosia and nectar of the gods.

In *Hermes* 83 (1955) 496ff. W.S. Watt ingeniously proposed to read Φάσμα *mimum* in both of the passages in question. This title occurs at Juv. 8.186 and is corrupted into *fama* in many MSS of Terence at *Eun.* 9.

But in *Hermes* 92 (1964) 251ff. the editor pointed out the strong connection of beans with the Roman cult of the dead, and, at a popular level, with ghosts, spooks and bogies (cf. 9.3 *laruis* and note). The 'Bean' farce may well have dealt with the meanest and most risible form of survival after death, and perhaps contrasted it with the most noble and glorious, apotheosis.

The *mimus* tended to be vulgarly sensational and trivial in theme, and sometimes incoherent and inconclusive in structure: it can be

easily paralleled in the 'light entertainment' of our contemporary crass media.

fecisti: see the *apparatus*. The majority of editors print *secistis*. Ball, with overwhelming MSS support, keeps *secisti*, explaining that 'Janus for the moment is addressing an individual, perhaps Hercules', and in view of the dramatic articulation of the speeches of the gods, this seems preferable.

censeo: cf. 9.3n. *qui contra*. . . ; 9.5n. *censeo uti*.

ἀρούρης καρπὸν ἔδουσιν: '[but if you are one of the mortals who] eat the fruit of the soil', Hom. *Il.* 6.142, which is paraphrased as *fruges consumere nati* at Hor. *Epp.* 1.2.27.

ζείδωρος ἄρουρα: 'the grain-giving soil', a recurrent verse-ending in epic hexameters: Hom. *Il.* 8.486; *Od.* 7.332; Hes. *Op.* 237.

aut ... ἄρουρα has been suspected of being a gloss: it repeats, in a passive recasting, the sense of ἀρούρης ... ἔδουσιν, making it more precise in only one point, ζεῖά 'grain' for καρπός 'fruit'. More probably there is a parody of the attempted precision of *senatus consulta*: cf. e.g. the accumulation of near-synonyms in the SC *de Bacchanalibus*, CIL 1².581, *neue posthac inter sed conioura(se neu)e comuouise neue conspondise neue conpromesise uelet*.

Helm's suggestion, in Buecheler⁴, *quas alit*, deserves consideration.

qui contra hoc senatus consultum ... placet: this, like *censeo* above, is the technical language of a senatorial decree, which here ends with a statement of the penalty for infringement: cf. SC *de Bacchanalibus*, CIL 1².581 '*sei quæ esent, quæ aruorsum ead fecisent, quam suprad scriptum est, eeis rem capitalem faciendam censuere*'.

factus dictus pictusue: Janus, using the official language of the Roman senate, thinks of the case of a human being made a god by its decree – though, as with Claudius, the celestial senate was not obliged to grant *de facto* recognition. His proposal lends some slight support to the theory that the satire's primary target is deification as an institution (see the Introd. p. 9).

Plaut. *Asin.* 174 *neque fictum usquamst neque pictum neque scriptum in poematis* gives some support to attempts to increase the alliterative accumulation (*congeries*) by introducing *fictus* into the text, which does not however compel alteration.

laruis: *laruæ* and *lemures* were originally malevolent spirits, including the ghosts of those who had died a violent death. Though objects of

real terror to the primitive community, they degenerated into mere spooks and bogies, ridiculed by the educated: cf. Hor. *Epp.* 2.2.208f. They were thought to drive their victims mad: cf. Paul. Fest. 106 (244) *L. laruati: furiosi et mente moti, quasi laruis exterriti*; Plaut. *Capt.* 598 *iam deliramenta loquitur: laruae stimulant urium*. And they attacked even the dead: cf. Pliny, *N.H. Praef.* 31 '*cum mortuis non nisi laruas luctari*'.

nouos auctoratos: 'raw recruits': *auctorati* were free Roman citizens who, with no criminal record to compel them, sold themselves to a gladiatorial school. At enrolment they swore a binding oath: cf. Petr. 117.5 *in uerba Eumolpi [sacramentum] iurauimus: uri, uinciri, uerberari ferroque necari, et quicquid aliud Eumolpus iussisset. tamquam legitimi gladiatores domino corpora animasque religiosissime addicimus*. As raw recruits they practised with dummy weapons; later they trained in earnest for whichever of the specialized rôles they were best suited to. They remained *noui auctorati*, recruits, until their first real fight.

Though at the beginning of his reign Claudius forbade gladiatorial shows given by others specifically in his honour (Dio 60.5.6), he himself gave many, with obvious enjoyment (Suet. *Cl.* 21.4f.) and sadistic cruelty, forcing even incompetent stage-hands to fight (Suet. *Cl.* 34.1f.), as well as slaves and freedmen guilty of treachery to their masters (Dio 60.13.1f.).

The connection of thought between *eum dedi laruis* and *et proximo munere* ... is obscure. Maehly suggested *lanistis* (*lanista* = 'the training master' of a gladiatorial school) in place of *laruis*. Heinze 66 thought that the scourgers (*ferulis*) were dressed as *Ποιναί* = *laruae*.

Keeping the MSS reading, we may suppose that the point of Janus' penalty-clause is that any unauthorized candidate for a place among the gods should be given instead a place among the spooks, who would drive him mad enough to volunteer for recruitment as a gladiator. Janus, in spite of his wish to avoid speaking *in personam non in rem*, makes the punishment perfectly fit Claudius' crime.

uapulare: 'to take a thrashing', the *sermo uulgaris* equivalent of *uerberari*; cf. Hor. *Sat.* 2.7.58f. *quid refert, uri uirgis ferroque necari | auctoratus eas* ...?

9.4 Diespiter, Vicae Potae filius: Diespiter was the native Italian sky-god manifesting his power through daylight. The first syllables of Diespiter and Iuppiter are etymologically cognate with each other and

with Zeus. But Diespiter here is conceived as a quite distinct personage from the Jupiter who presides over the celestial senate.

Vica Pota is also a native deity, of extreme obscurity. She had a temple *infra Veliam* at the bottom of the northern slope of the Palatine (Livy 2.7.12). Her name was thought to be connected with *vincendi atque potiundi* (Cic. *De leg.* 2.11.28), which invested her with associations of conquest and gain, whether or not she originally possessed them. This seems to be the author's point in making Diespiter, with his gainfully venal occupation, her son. It is also possible that money-changers' booths were adjacent to her temple near the Forum. But the sheer quaintness of her name, and the similarity between *Pōta* and *pōta*, 'drunk', may have played a part.

Claudius' antiquarian interests in general, and specifically his use of the formula of the Fetiales (Suet. *Cl.* 25.5), which included an oath by Diespiter, may be relevant, though indirectly.

Schenk's suggestion to read *Dispiter* or *Dis pater*, with whom Diespiter was frequently confused, with a chain of associations from it to Pluton to Plutus, the wealth-god, is unconvincing.

nummulariolus is found only here. *nummularius* is 'a money-changer', like *argentarius*. The new coinage is characteristic of the *sermo plebeius*. The diminutive suffix *-olus*, as in e.g. *bestiola*, is added to the suffix *-arius*, which is regularly used to make names of persons from names of things, as in e.g. *mensarius*, and this in turn is appended to the diminutive *nummulus*.

ciuitatulus is found here for the first time, and here only in the sense 'citizenship rights': another comically disparaging diminutive.

Trafficking in grants of citizenship was a notorious occupation of Claudius and his entourage: cf. Dio 60.17.5f. and 3.3n. *dum . . . uidere*. Diespiter, who made a career of it, might be expected to favour Claudius' petition for a place among the citizens, and senators, of heaven, and to praise his wisdom at 9.5 for its lucrative results.

belle: another colloquialism, not uncommon in Cicero's *Letters*.

auriculam illi tetigit: 'il lui toucha l'oreille'. *auricula*, the third of a quick succession of colloquial diminutives, eventually established itself so strongly in popular speech, cf. Fr. *oreille*, It. *orecchio*, that it ousted its parent *auris*.

Touching the ear-lobe was a familiar way of reminding someone of something, because *est in aure ima memoriae locus, quem tangentes antestamur*,

Pliny, *N.H.* 11.251: cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 6.3f. *Cynthus aurem | uellit et admonuit*. Consequently it became the accepted way of engaging a witness for a trial – by keeping him in mind of what he had witnessed: cf. Plaut. *Pers.* 748; Hor. *Sat.* 1.9.76f.

9.5 diuus Claudius: spoken here, and later in the same sentence, flatteringly; in Augustus' speech at 10.4 and 11.5 ironically. This was Claudius' official title after deification by decree of the senate. The senate of gods, the vehicle of the satirist's own view, implicitly rescinds it; the Roman senate did not.

dium Augustum sanguine contingat: Claudius' mother, Antonia Minor, was the daughter of Octavia, Augustus' sister and wife of Mark Antony. It was through his mother, not his father, that Claudius had a blood-relationship with Augustus, though that was *not* lineal.

nec minus diuam Augustam: Claudius' father, Nero Claudius Drusus, was the second son – the emperor Tiberius was the first – of Ti. Claudius Nero and Livia, whom her husband divorced in 39 B.C. to allow her to marry Octavian (Augustus). By Augustus' will Livia was adopted in A.D. 14 into the Julian *gens* and renamed Julia Augusta. She died in A.D. 29 but Tiberius, with whom she had strained relations in the last years of her life, refused to allow her to be deified.

quam ipse deam esse iussit: the granting of divine and other honours to his grandmother Livia (Augusta) was one of the first acts of Claudius as princeps (Suet. *Cl.* 11.2; Dio 60.5.2). It was not a mark of personal affection: cf. Suet. *Cl.* 3.2. It was one of a number of honours to the family dead of the Julio-Claudian house bestowed by Claudius, deliberately exploiting the imperial cult to strengthen his own position.

longeque ... antecellat: the speaker damns with over-praise the very quality in which Claudius was most vulnerable to legitimate criticism. The *laudatio funebris* for Claudius, delivered by Nero, but composed by Seneca, won attentive assent for a number of Claudius' achievements, including his *artes liberales*, but *postquam ad prouidentiam sapientiamque flexit, nemo risui temperare*: Tac. *Ann.* 13.3.1f. Contemporaries will have appreciated the allusion to this in the satire. But Diespiter may be ironically hinting that the 'wisdom' of extending the franchise was proved by the profit from it.

sitque e re publica: 'and since it is in accordance with the interests

of the state ...'; the formal phraseology of senatorial decrees – cf. e.g. Cic. *Phil.* 10.25 *Brutum ... bene et e re publica ... fecisse* – heightens the novel incongruity of what it introduces. The same is true on a larger scale with *ex hac die ... factus sit*.

Romulo ... uorare: after his ascension, Romulus was believed to live in heaven (Ennius, *Ann. fr.* 115f. V³ *Romulus in caelo cum dis genitalibus aeuom | degit*), with the primitive rusticity of the Rome of his time (Mart. 13.16.1f. *haec tibi brumali gaudentia frigore rapa | quae damus, in caelo Romulus esse solet*).

'*feruentia rapa uorare*': the end of a hexameter. If, as seems likely, the words referred to Romulus in their original context also, the most likely author, in view of the comic crudeness of *uorare*, is Lucilius; it appears as fr. 1357 in Marx's edition. 'It is almost mathematically certain that the first half of the line was *Romulus in caelo*': Skutsch 111.

censeo uti ... sit, eamque rem ... adiciendam: for the double construction after *censeo* cf. *SC de Bacchanalibus*, *CIL* 1². 581 '*... eeis rem capitalem faciendam censuere*' – *atque uti hoc in tabulam ahenam incederetis, ita senatus aiquom censuit*.

censeo uti ... uti ...: *uti*, like other archaisms maintained in classical and later Latin, has a downright old-fashioned tone, suiting the *sententia* of Diespiter: cf. Mart. 11.20.4 *Fulvia constituit, se quoque uti futuam* in verses attributed to Augustus, *qui scis Romana simplicitate loqui* v. 10.

ex hac die: but 9.3. *post hunc diem*. In classical prose the masculine specifies a particular day, the feminine delimits a period of time with reference to a day. The distinction became blurred in Augustan verse, largely for metrical reasons, and hence also in later prose.

ita uti ... quis optimo iure factus sit: formal official language, cf. Cic. *Phil.* 11.30 *ut qui optimo iure eam prouinciam obtinuerit*. The *quis* of the MSS is here only defensible as another deliberate archaism, cf. e.g. Cato, *Agr.* 145.1 *homines eos dato, qui placebunt aut custodi aut quis eam oleam emerit* and LHS II. 554. But *quis* and *qui* are frequently confused in late and medieval Latin, and this naturally affected the transmission of classical texts: Maehly's *qui* regularizes the phraseology.

ad Metamorphosis Ouidi: where the apotheosis of Romulus, *Met.* 14.805ff., and of Julius Caesar, *Met.* 15.745ff., were already included, and that of Augustus forecast, *Met.* 15.868ff. Ovid's stories of mythological transformation are an unexpectedly comic substitution for the aridly official *fasti*, where such an event would have been recorded at Rome.

9.6 *sententiam uincere*: 'Claudius seemed to be winning the motion.' *Sententiam* is to be neither deleted nor emended. It is here an internal limiting accusative, an extension of the cognate accusative in *uictoriam uincere*, and *sententiam uincere* is analogous to *causam uincere* and γνῶμην νικᾶν.

Of the motions in favour of Claudius, the presiding magistrate would, in Roman procedure, choose the one most suitable in his judgement, and put it to the vote. The 'sense of the meeting' could be gauged in advance, because members of the senate moved, in the course of debate, to be near the speaker they supported.

***ferrum suum in igne esse*:** 'that his iron was in the fire' and getting hot, ready to be struck into the desired shape.

***mea res agitur*:** because Hercules himself was a self-made god, who had worked his way from the human condition to immortality: cf. Lucian, *Iup. Trag.* 21 where Herakles, Dionysus, Ganymede and Asclepius are said to be the only mortals 'illegally registered' in the council of the gods.

***manus manum lauat*:** as also at Petr. 45.13, 'one good turn deserves another'; cf. Plat. *Axiach.* 366c τὸ 'Επιχάρμειον ἃ δὲ χεῖρ τὰν χεῖρα νίξει: 'Epicharmus' saying "one hand washes the other".

10.1 *tunc diuus Augustus*: Augustus is driven by indignation to deliver his maiden speech in the divine senate. The author presents him, unlike the previous speakers, without obviously disrespectful caricature, but with subtle reminiscences of his style – phraseology and cadences of the official language of the *Res Gestae*, and mannerisms – his racily colloquial *sermo cotidianus* was fond of proverbs and everyday expressions (Suet. *Aug.* 87.1f.), and capable of twisting a verse of Homer (Suet. *Aug.* 65.4).

Augustus' speech is the longest in the debate, and its damning impact derives precisely from the fact that the indictment of Claudius not as a harmless pedant, nor as a holy fool, but as an arbitrary judicial murderer, is delivered by the model he aspired to follow in government.

The speech brings a new seriousness of tone and stature of authority to the debate. The first few sentences establish him as the real *princeps senatus*. In the Roman senate a motion of Cicero on 1 January 43 B.C. had granted him legal position and prestige: cf. *R.G.* 1.2 ... *senatus* ... *in ordinem suum me adlegit* ... *consularem locum sententiae dicendae tribuens, et imperium mihi dedit*.

In the formal structure of the satire Augustus' speech of indictment marks the central peak, preceded by the *Laudes Neronis* and followed by the mock *Elogium Claudii*.

sententiae suae loco dicendae: 'to put his own motion in turn', with *sententiae* . . . *dicendae* as a dative of purpose and *loco* as local ablative; for the latter cf. Cic. *De leg.* 3.18.40 *ut loco dicat, id est, rogatus* and Tac. *Ann.* 3.22.6 *exemit . . . Drusum . . . dicendae primo loco sententiae*.

suae, the reading of the archetype, is required by the sense; Augustus does not assent to a previous motion, he has his own to put – that is why he has stood up. *suo*, a variant, is inept: he is not (mis)-represented as likely to speak *alieno loco*.

summa facundia disseruit: cf. Tac. *Ann.* 13.3.4 *Augusto prompta ac profluens quae (que) deceret principem eloquentia fuit*; Suet. *Aug.* 84.1; 86.

nullum . . . ago: Augustus' *captatio benevolentiae* is an assertion that he has kept the same diplomatic discretion he had in life.

et non possum amplius dissimulare: 'and yet I can no longer dissemble my feelings'. The sense requires an adversative conjunction, and *et*, offered by the archetype and the I-family, can = *et tamen*: cf. Juv. 7.124f. *Aemilio dabitur quantum licet, et melius nos | egimus* and KS II. 27f. But the s-family's *set* or *sed* would be a probable correction of a not uncommon corruption, which gains support from the parallel use of the motif of this section at Lucian, *Iup. Trag.* 24, where Poseidon says: 'For the rest I am submarine, as you know, and I do my governing by myself in the ocean depths, saving the lives of sailors as far as I can . . . *But all the same* – because I am interested in what happens here – I say that it's essential . . .'

dolorem . . . pudor: Augustus' indignation (*dolorem*) at the historical unreality of previous speakers' views of Claudius is aggravated by the shame (*pudor*) he had always felt at being his relation: cf. his letters to Livia at Suet. *Cl.* 4.

10.2 in hoc . . . uerba sunt: a cleverly contrived specimen of Augustus' oratorical powers. He launches his indictment of Claudius' failings with a triple series of rhetorical questions listing his own achievements – a rhetorical trope previously used to great effect by the impersonated Appius Claudius at Cic. *Pro Cael.* 33f. But his sentence ends unfinished in speechless indignation, and he is left to explain his rhetorical aposiopesis.

terra marique pacem peperit: an official formula, used by Augustus himself at *R.G.* 13 ... *cum per totum imperium populi Romani terra marique esset parata uictoriis pax*; and, in the same connection, cf. Suet. *Aug.* 22.

ciuilia bella compescui: cf. *R.G.* 34.1 *postquam bella ciuilia extinxeram*. This he achieved by victories over Brutus and Cassius at Philippi in 42 B.C., over Sextus Pompeius in 36 B.C., and over Antony and Cleopatra at Actium in 31 B.C. He mentions the first of these at *R.G.* 1.1 *rem publicam a dominatione factionis oppressam in libertatem uindicauit*, he alludes to the second at *R.G.* 25.1, and mentions the third at *R.G.* 25.2.

legibus urbem fundauit: phraseology derived from Virg. *Aen.* 6.810f. [Numa] *primam* ['at the outset'] *qui legibus urbem fundabit*; cf. Hor. *Epp.* 2.1.1ff. *cum ... res Italas ... legibus emendes*, of Augustus. Augustus mentions his reforming moral legislation at *R.G.* 6.1f. and 8.5.

operibus ornaui: Augustus lists the achievements of his extensive building programme in *R.G.* 19–21; they give substance to his boast [*urbem*] *marmoream se relinquere quam latericiam acceperisset* (Suet. *Aug.* 28.3).

Messalae Coruini ... sententiam 'pudet imperii': M. Valerius Messala Corvinus (64 B.C.–A.D. 8) was a distinguished soldier, statesman, orator, and patron of letters (see *OCD*³ 674), with a conservative and independent character. The dictum attributed to him here, not attested elsewhere, is probably to be connected with the occasion when, having been appointed the first *praefectus urbi* by Augustus c. 25 B.C., he resigned six days afterwards *inciuilem potestatem esse contestans* (Hieron. *Chron.* 18 p. 164 H.). He realized that the *imperium* of the *praefectus urbi* (cf. Paulus, *Dig.* 5.1.12.1), which included control of the city police, could be, and might have to be, used unconstitutionally and oppressively; he, moreover, as the first imperial appointee, would have to set precedents for the functional limits of the office: according to Tac. *Ann.* 6.11.4 he resigned *quasi nescius exercendi*. Augustus had offered a position of immense but ill-defined power to a republican traditionalist. The author now subtly puts the dictum into Augustus' mouth to express his shame at having created an *imperium* susceptible to arbitrary abuse at the hands of Claudius.

Messalae is the reading of the archetype here, but the spelling *Messalla* is strongly attested in inscriptions (e.g. the *fasti Ostienses* for A.D. 20) and in manuscripts (e.g. at Sen. *De breu.* 13.5).

10.3 hic: see the note on 9.2 *illo dimisso*.

muscam excitare: the first of a string of proverbial and popular sayings – cf. 10.3 (twice); 11.1; 11.2; 11.3 (twice); 11.5 – with which the author gives Augustus' conversational style the distinctive flavour it had: cf. Suet. *Aug.* 87.1 *cotidiano sermone quaedam frequentius et notabiliter usurpasse eum* . . .

The fly was a type of the insignificant in Roman proverbs: cf. Petr. 42.4 *minoris quam muscae sumus*, and esp. Suet. *Dom.* 3.1: Domitian spent hours alone catching and stabbing flies *ut cuidam interroganti, essetne quis intus cum Caesare, non absurde responsum sit a Vibio Crispo, ne muscam quidem*.

tam facile homines occidebat: cf. Suet. *Cl.* 29.2 in . . . *senatores . . . equites R. tanta facilitate animaduertit* . . . ; the details are given in the formal charge against Claudius at 14.1.

quam canis adsidit: this, the reading of S alone, is adopted by most editors. It means 'as a dog squats on its haunches', to rest, with perhaps a hint at excretion: cf. Pliny, *N.H.* 10.177 *existimantur in urina attollere crus fere semenstres; id est signum consummati uirium roboris; feminae hoc idem sidentes*. This proverb continues in the same sphere of lesser creatures as the immediately preceding *muscam excitare*.

The rival variant reading *quam Canis excidit* = 'as a Dog-throw falls out [of a dice-box]'. This was the lowest scoring throw, when all four knucklebones, *tali*, showed an ace. Augustus was notoriously addicted to dicing; in a letter to Tiberius (Suet. *Aug.* 71.2) he explains the system, including the Dog-rule, he used in a game with two friends. The actual statistical frequency of the Dog-throw is irrelevant. Failures and losses stay uppermost in the memory of the gambler, and so seem most frequent, whether they have been so or not.

domestica mala: Augustus proceeds to list those of Claudius' victims who were his own relations, ending with the plea *vindicare iniurias meas*, 11.4. But in his formal charge, 11.5, the author changes Augustus' viewpoint, and makes him appear more objective by listing the victims among Claudius' relations. Augustus' blood-relations would be members of the *gens Iulia*, which its adherents no doubt regarded as *the* imperial dynasty, into which the *gens Claudia* had intruded; in the satire this viewpoint is, at the most, latent (see the Intro. p. 10).

nam etiam . . . κνήμης: to Buecheler belongs the credit of extracting ἔγγιον γόνυ κνήμης from S. Previous editors had let their imagi-

nations run riot over this passage. The proverb itself is quoted by a number of authors. Theocritus 16.18 recasts it in a slightly different form: ἀπωτέρω ἢ γόνυ κνάμα, 'the calf is further away than the knee'.

No satisfactory sense has yet been obtained from the s-family's *soror mea*, though the very obscurity of an allusion to Octavia makes it adaptable to almost any theory. Ball 209 offers a counsel of despair: 'The point . . . very likely depends on some fact unknown to us.' Russo, dissatisfied with his own attempt to explain this '*difficile e poco sensata allusione*' (100), grew increasingly convinced of the correctness of his own conjecture *sura mea Graece nescit* = 'even if my calf does not know Greek, I do: the knee is nearer than the calf' (*sura* = κνήμη). This conjecture keeps the proverb in the sphere of the lower limbs and yields verbal wit of a kind; but it lacks connection with the larger context, the focal point of which is Claudius and his apparent belief that murder begins at home.

Sonntag and Buecheler bracketed *Graece* as a gloss. It is not an indication of omitted Greek, for which the MSS regularly use *Graecum*, e.g. at 8.1: see the *apparatus*. The word whose mutilated transliteration is offered by the primary MSS is probably σφυρόν = 'ankle', even further away from the knee than the calf, and likely to take a view of things diametrically opposite to that of the head.

There may be a further allusion to Claudius. σφυρόν = ἀστράγαλος (Hesychius s.v.) = *talus* = anklebone = the four-sided rectangular die. Augustus was an addict of the game, but Claudius had actually written a manual on the subject, and his association with it is prominently advertised in the satire: 12.3. vv.30f.; 14.4; 15.1.

10.4 per tot annos sub meo nomine latens: Claudius, like all emperors, took the name Caesar (cf. 5.4) Augustus: his full name was Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus. But in addition Claudius had, from his accession, adopted the oath *per Augustum* as his most sacred and frequent (Suet. *Cl.* 11.2), and taken Augustus' governmental policies as his professed model.

duas ... fame: the 'two Julias, my great-granddaughters' were both the victims of Messalina, and Claudius condemned them to death *crimine incerto nec defensione ulla data*: Suet. *Cl.* 29.1.

Julia, daughter of Drusus son of Tiberius, roused the jealousy of Messalina (Dio 60.18.4), who engineered (Tac. *Ann.* 13.32.5) her death

in A.D. 43 through the agency of P. Suillius (Tac. *Ann.* 13.43.3). With *ferro* cf. ἀπέφαξε Dio *loc. cit.*

Julia Livilla, daughter of Germanicus, adopted son of Tiberius, also provoked the jealousy of Messalina, who secured her banishment in A.D. 41 on a number of trumped-up charges, including adultery with Seneca. She and Seneca both went into exile, where she died: Dio 60.8.5. The main charge against her at least had plausibility: in A.D. 39 under Gaius she had been relegated for adultery with her brother-in-law, but was recalled by Claudius.

unum ... L. Silanum: 'one great-great-grandson, L. Silanus'; see the note on 8.2 *Silanum*.

uideris ... futurus es: for the allusion see the note on 8.2 *damnauit incesti*. The highly elliptical expression is characteristic of *sermo cotidianus*. Formal Ciceronian prose would require something like *uideris, Iuppiter, num in causa mala egerit; certe in tua causa eum egisse iudicabis, si aequus [fu]eris*.

uideris, future perfect indicative, with no significant difference in meaning from *uidebo* future indicative, is a rooted idiom, appearing also in Cicero's prose works at e.g. *Phil.* 2.118 *sed de te tu uideris; ego de me ipse profitebor*.

an, instead of *num* or *-ne* to introduce a single indirect question, does not appear in literary prose before Livy, except in the formulae *haud scio an*, *nescio an* and *dubito an*.

aequos = aequus: as throughout, the text adopts the spelling of *a*, which here seems to preserve the convention designed to clarify the ambiguity of *-yu-* and *-uy-*.

futurus es: periphrastic future; see the note on 1.1 *coacturus est*.

dine Claudii: see the note on 9.5 *diius Claudius*.

antequam ... cognosceres ... audires: 'before you could examine the case ... before you could hear the evidence'; cf. 12.3 v. 21 *una tantum parte audita* and 14.2 *altera tantum parte audita* ... For Claudius' impulsive and capricious behaviour in conducting trials generally cf. Suet. *Cl.* 15, esp. 15.3 *alius gratias agens quod reum defendi pateretur* [sc. *Claudius*], *adiicit 'et tamen fieri solet'*; for his treatment of the Julias specifically cf. Suet. *Cl.* 29.1 cited on 10.4 *duas ... fame*.

The subjunctive after *antequam*, although often used by classical authors with little justification and by Silver Latin authors with none, has point here if given its full value as containing an idea of intention or prevention.

11.1 ecce Iuppiter ... suspendit illam: at *Iliad* 15.18ff. Zeus threatens to scourge Hera, reminding her that he dealt with a previous rebellion by hanging her in the sky with anvils tied to her feet, and by hurling from heaven to earth any of the other gods he caught; Hephaestus was one of them, and at *Iliad* 1.586ff. he tells his mother Hera that if she provokes Zeus' anger he might be no more able to help her than on the previous occasion when Zeus 'catching him by the foot threw him from the heavenly threshold' (*Il.* 1.591), and he fell all day, landing at sunset on the island of Lemnos.

(That this was the cause of Hephaestus' lameness is assumed by Vat. Lat. 4498 and the Ed. Princ., which omit *quem* and the Greek, and give instead *et in Lemnon caelo deturbavit: non extinxit.*).

But *suspendere* and *crus frangere* (cf. Plaut. *Poen.* 396 and Sen. *De ira* 3.32.1) are punishments inflicted on slaves by harsh Roman masters: Jupiter is implied to have treated his son and wife as slaves – but not, like Claudius, to have raged cruelly against his whole family.

Messalinam ... tuus: Valeria Messalina was the great-granddaughter of Augustus' sister Octavia on her mother's side, and, as it happened, on her father's too, and Augustus was therefore her great-great-uncle, *auunculus maior*. Claudius, on his mother's side, was grandson of Octavia, and Augustus was therefore his great-uncle, which strictly is *auunculus magnus*, though he is referred to as Claudius' *auunculus maior* by Suet. *Cl.* 3.2, and simply as his *auunculus* by Sen. *Cons. Polyb.* 15.4 and, apparently, by Claudius himself, *CIL* XIII. 1668.

aeque ... quam: unclassical (cf. KS II. 459) for *aeque ac* (*atque*).

Messalinam ... quam quod occidisti: according to Tac. *Ann.* 11.37f. Claudius, after feasting and drinking, ordered a message to be sent to Messalina to be present the following day to plead her case. Narcissus, fearing a reconciliation, gave the command, as though from Claudius himself, to the tribune to murder Messalina, which he did, since she was too hysterical to commit suicide competently. When Claudius, still feasting, received news that she had died by her own hand or another's, he continued drinking, made no further enquiry, and showed no signs of any emotion on the days following.

This account clearly permits other interpretations than that Messalina's death was yet another instance of Claudius' absent-mindedness about those whose murder he had forgotten he ordered. Cf. Suet. *Cl.* 39.1 *occisa Messalina, paulo post quam in triclinio decubuit, cur domina*

non ueniret requisit; Suet. *Cl.* 29.1 *honores exercitus impunitates supplicia largitus est, et quidem insciens plerumque et ignarus;* and Dio 60.31.5 who implies that Claudius gave the order for Messalina's death.

'nescio' ... **nescisti**: present indicative followed by perfect indicative yields sense and, given the loose style of the satire, regularizations – *nescii* for *nescio* suggested by Buecheler, or the adoption of *nescis* offered by L and the I-family and favoured by Ruhkopf – are not compelling.

11.2 C. Caesarem ... persequi: 'he did not stop making G. Caesar his target after his death', with a play on the ambiguity of *persequi* = (1) 'to persecute', which Claudius, like a *larua* (see 9.3n. *laruis*) did by rescinding Gaius' enactments and removing statues of him (Suet. *Cl.* 11.3; Dio 60:4.1; 4.5f.; 5.1); = (2) 'to imitate', which he did, as is illustrated in what immediately follows, by surpassing him in acts of cruelty.

For the progress of error in the MSS tradition, see the *apparatus* and C.Q. N.S. 29 (1979) 155.

occiderat ille socerum: Gaius' first wife, Iunia Claudii(II)a, who married him in A.D. 33 (Tac. *Ann.* 6.20.1; Suet. *Cal.* 12.1), but died before his accession in A.D. 37 (Tac. *Ann.* 6.45.5) in childbirth (Suet. *Cal.* 12.2), was the daughter of M. Iunius Silanus C.f., *consul suffectus* in A.D. 15 and a powerful friend of Tiberius. Gaius conceived a violent dislike of Silanus because of his seniority, prestige and independence, and caused him to commit suicide (Dio 59.8.4ff.; Suet. *Cal.* 23.3) early in A.D. 38.

hic et generum: 'this one killed his son-in-law as well [as his father-in-law]'; *et* = *et insuper*. For the *socer*, Appius Silanus, see 11.5n. below. The *gener* referred to may be L. Silanus, already twice mentioned – see 8.2n. – but is more likely to be Pompeius Magnus, named in the next sentence.

Gaius ... uocari: Cn. Pompeius Magnus, referred to simply as Magnus here and at Tac. *Hist.* 1.48 and Dio 60.21.5, who had married Claudius' daughter Antonia, was the son of M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, *consul ordinarius* in A.D. 27. Cf. Dio 60.5.8f.: 'Gaius had taken away from this Pompeius his title of Magnus and, indeed, had come very near to killing him because he was so named ... saying that it was not safe for him that anyone should be called Magnus'; and Suet. *Cal.* 35.1 *uetera familiarum insignia nobilissimo cuique ademit, Torquato torquem, Cincinnato crinem, Cn. Pompeio stirpis antiquae Magni cognomen*, where Mommsen

conjectured that *Torquato* referred to the family of L. Silanus Torquatus, Claudius' other son-in-law.

hic nomen illi reddidit, caput tulit: cf. Dio 60.5.9: 'Claudius now not only restored to him his former title but also gave him his daughter to wife.' *tulit* = *abstulit*. The use of simple for compound verbs is archaic and poetical; *ferre* = *auferre* at Catull. 110.4; Juv. 9.39. *hic ... tulit* is an iambic trimeter; a number of such occur in Greek and Latin prose authors by accident, because normal speech-rhythm more often approximates to the iambic than any other metre. Seneca the prose satirist seems to have slipped into what came naturally to Seneca the tragedian.

in una domo Crassum, Magnum, Scriboniam: by Scribonia, perhaps a descendant of Cn. Pompeius Magnus the Triumvir, M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, perhaps a descendant of M. Licinius Crassus the Triumvir, became father of: (1) Cn. Pompeius Magnus, killed by Claudius: Tac. *Hist.* 1.48; (2) Crassus, killed by Nero: Tac. *Hist.* 1.48; (3) Scribonianus: Tac. *Hist.* 1.47; (4) L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi Licinianus, adopted by Galba and killed with him: Tac. *Hist.* 1.14ff. and 47f.

Cn. Pompeius Magnus married Claudius' elder daughter Antonia in A.D. 41: Dio 60.5.7; Suet. *Cl.* 27.2. He was murdered in A.D. 47 at the instigation of Messalina: Suet. *Cl.* 29.2 *Pompeius in concubitu dilecti aduloscentuli confossus est*.

The nobility of Crassus and Scribonia is expressly mentioned by Tac. *Hist.* 1.14; that of Magnus by Suet. *Cal.* 35.1, cited above.

<non> Assar<aci nat>ionem: the MSS offer what appear to be proper names, but no such persons can be identified, which argues an obscurity incompatible with *nobilitas*.

nobiles tamen requires before it a description of which their nobility is a mitigating qualification. The most noteworthy conjectures assume that this is worthlessness, and attempt to extract *assarios*, 'twopenny-halfpenny', on the analogy of Petr. 45.8 *sestertarius homo*; 58.5 *comula ista besatis et dominus dupundarius*: hence Buecheler's *tris homines assarios*. Heraeus suggested *tris Isionas assarios*, introducing the further notion of stupidity which connects well with what follows: *Ision*, with *Baba*, is a type of stupidity at Sen. *Epp.* 15.9. But *assarios* undermines Augustus' rhetoric and weakens his point, for Claudius' crime seems less enormous if its victims were negligible.

A more pointed contrast with *nobiles tamen* can be extracted from

assarionem (*tristionias* (-am), which looks suspiciously like a botched repetition of *Scriboniam*, was deleted by Birt): *non Assaraci nationem*, 'not a clan of Assaracus', i.e. not of the exclusive blue-blooded aristocracy who, like the *gens Iulia*, traced their descent from Trojan ancestors, Juvenal's *Troiugenes* (1.100; 8.181; 11.95). *Assaracus* may have been suggested by Virg. *Aen.* 9.642f. *iure omnia bella | gente sub Assaraci fato uentura resident*, just as Persius' *Polydamas et Troiades* (1.4) was by Virg. *Aen.* 9.617 *o uere Phrygiae, neque enim Phryges*. Assaracus was the great-grandfather of Aeneas: Enn. *Ann. fr.* 30-1 V³.

Crassum ... posset: see 1.11. *uerum prouerbum ... oportere*. The implication is that Crassus' stupidity, being great enough to make him eligible to rule, made him a dangerously well-qualified rival to Claudius. Though there is no historical evidence for the cause of Crassus' death, we may infer that, like a number of others including Appius Silanus (Suet. *Cl.* 37.1f.), he was killed through Claudius' fears of assassination and usurpation.

(Between *posset* and *hunc* occurs one of the more extensive of the editorial interpolations in Vat. Lat. 4498 and the Ed. Princ., based substantially on Suet. *Cl.* 3.2 and 25.5, and section 14.1 of the satire: *Cogitate P.C. quale portentum in numerum deorum se recipi cupiat. Principes pietate ac iustitia dii sunt. Scilicet hic pius et iustus, quoniam Dryadarum [sic] perfidae gentis immanem religionem a qua ciues submoueram prorsus extirpauit: ut Romae nuptiarum sacra essent, quibus ipse cum sibi Agrippina nuberet XXX senatoribus innumeris equitibus Romanis mactatis principium dedit.*)

11.3 hunc ... natum ... hunc deum ... credet?: apparently a motif of Menippean councils of gods, which reappears in the mouth of Momus at Lucian, *Deor. conc.* 4f.: 'Do you see what kind of gods the cad creates for us? And then we wonder that men despise us when they see such laughable and portentous deities? ...' 12: 'So, ever since we became so numerous, perjury and sacrilege have been on the increase and, in sum, [men] have despised us – quite rightly.'

dis iratis natum: a common popular expression occurring also at e.g. Hor. *Sat.* 2.3.8 *iratis natus paries dis atque poetis*; Phaedr. 4.20.15 *dis est iratis natus qui est similis tibi*: cf. *dis inimicis* Plaut. *Most.* 563; *dis aduersis* Juv. 10.129.

ad summam: 'in short'; a phrase as frequent on the lips of Petronius' characters, especially Hermeros at 37.5, 37.10, 57.3, 57.9.

58.8, as *insomma* on the lips of their present-day Italian counterparts.

tria uerba cito dicat: yet another jibe at Claudius' speech-defect, of which the historical Augustus took a more balanced view: Suet. *Cl.* 4.6, in a letter to Livia, *peream nisi, mea Liuia, admiror. nam qui tam ὁσαυτὸς loquatur, qui possit cum declamat ὁσαυτὸς dicere quae dicenda sunt, non uideo.* (ἁ)σαυτὸς = (in)distinctly.

For *tria uerba* cf. Sen. *Epp.* 40.9 '*quomodo istum disertum dicatis nescio: tria uerba non potest iungere*'. In view of the following clause, commentators suggest that the three words could be '*hic meus est*' used by an owner asserting his claim to a slave. But they may simply = 'a couple of words', cf. Plaut. *Trin.* 963 *te tribus uerbis uolo*.

11.4 summa rei: used elliptically only here (sub. *haec est*), perhaps, with *ad summam* above, a genuine mannerism of Augustus: cf. Suet. *Aug.* 71.3, in a letter to Tiberius, *ad summam tamen perdidit non multum*.

si honeste inter uos gessi: the intransitive use of *gero*, influenced by the analogy of the synonymous *ago*, is well attested: *TLL* vi. 1942.1-31. Haase's conjecture *me* after *honeste*, though commonly accepted, is unnecessary: it was anticipated by the *s*-family with *me gessi*.

clarius: see the *apparatus* for the chain of development from truth, *clarius*, to error, *darus*, to superficial correction, *durus*, to attempted emendation, *durius* conjectured by Rhenanus but anticipated in the MSS tradition. *Clarius* is confirmed by Sen. *De ira* 3.24.2 *serui mei clarius responsum*; Sen. *Epp.* 38.1 *philosophia bonum consilium est: consilium nemo clare dat*.

Commentators mistakenly see an allusion to the dulcet tones of Augustus' practised elocution (Suet. *Aug.* 84.2) and miss the ambiguity in *clarius respondi* = (1) 'I replied too emphatically', which would be ill-mannered; and (2) 'I gave a reply too unambiguously', which might be injudicious or undiplomatic. *respondere* is a technical term of both religion and law = 'to give a considered or formal reply to a consultant'. The preceding words seem to imply that Augustus is referring to his conduct among the gods, though at 10.1 he says that he has never uttered a word since deification. Professor W.S. Watt writes in a letter of 12.5.66 '[the clause] might well refer to the studied ambiguity or non-committal character of replies (including official rescripts) given by Augustus during his life-time'.

ex tabella recitauit: in the Roman senate a member could read out a written motion, which, if successful, might then be incorporated

verbatim in the *senatus consultum*: cf. Cic. *Ad fam.* 10.13.1. Augustus would naturally adopt this practice: *neque in senatu neque apud populum neque apud milites locutus est umquam nisi meditata et composita oratione*, Suet. *Aug.* 84.1.

11.5 socerum suum, Appium Silanum: C. Appius Iunius Silanus, consul in A.D. 28, acquitted on a charge of *maiestas* in A.D. 32, governor of Hispania Tarraconensis in A.D. 40–41, was held in high honour by Claudius, who had him married to Messalina's mother Domitia. But he angered Messalina by refusing her advances, and she and the emperor's freedman secretary Narcissus, lacking any plausible charge against him, conspired to frighten Claudius by telling him that they had both dreamt of his murder by Appius. Claudius immediately ordered his death, without trial, in A.D. 42: cf. Dio 60.14; Suet. *Cl.* 29.1; 37.2; Tac. *Ann.* 11.29.1.

Silanus was strictly Claudius' stepfather-in-law, and not his *socer*, as here, or his *consocer*, as at Suet. *Cl.* 29.1. (He happened also to be the stepfather of Claudius' future son-in-law Cornelius Faustus Sulla, who married Claudius' daughter Antonia after the murder of her first husband Cn. Pompeius Magnus.)

Magnum Pompeium et L. Silanum: for the first see the two notes on 11.2; for the second 8.2n., 10.4n., 11.2n.; for both Dio 60.5.7ff. and 60.21.5.

Crassum Frugi: see the notes on 11.2.

tam similem sibi quam ouo ouum: 'as like as two peas', presumably in point of *fatuitas*: cf. Cic. *Acad. pr.* 2.18.57 *uidesne ut in prouerbio sit ouorum inter se similitudo?*; Cic. *Acad. pr.* 2.17.54; Quint. *I.O.* 5.11.30.

rerum iudicandarum uacationem: 'exemption from [undergoing] due process of law'; for this common sense of *uacatio* with an objective genitive, cf. e.g. Cic. *N.D.* 1.20.53 *beatam uitam . . . et in omnium uacatione munerum ponimus*.

Ball interprets the phrase to mean 'exemption from [enforcing] due process of law', i.e. from sitting in judgment at trials, as he had done in life, and doing so continuously, which would be appropriate retribution, because Claudius *rerum* [sc. *iudicandarum*] *actum diuisum antea in hibernos aestiuosque menses coniunxit*, Suet. *Cl.* 23.1. But there is no justification for assuming that this clause refers to the actual punishment, *animaduersio*, any more than those which follow. And in the sequel

Claudius is not condemned to sitting everlastingly in judgment, but is immediately brought to trial.

caelo intra triginta dies excedere, Olympo intra diem tertium: the official phraseology: cf. Livy 37.1.6 [*legati Aetolorum*] ... *urbe eodem die, Italia intra quindecim dies excedere iussi*; 42.48.3. *caelo* and *Olympo* are celestial equivalents of *Italia* and *Roma* respectively.

11.6 pedibus ... itum est: senators might express support for a previous *sententia* while remaining seated, but it was not unusual to rise and move near the proposer of the motion one favoured – *pedibus ire*: a clear majority would dispense, as here, with the need for a formal division – *discessio*, and with the counting of votes.

nec mora: the ellipse of *fuit* is regular in this phrase which, because of its dactylic form, became a cliché of hexameter poetry.

Cyllenius: Hermes/Mercury was believed to have been born on Mt Cyllene in Arcadia (Virg. *Aen.* 8.138f.), in whose neighbourhood, at Pheneus, he had a cult-centre (Cic. *N.D.* 3.22.56). He now continues to perform his function as psychopomp: see 3.1n.

collo obtorto: 'with his neck twisted', to be haled away for summary trial and punishment: cf. Plaut. *Poen.* 790 *optorto collo ad praetorem trahor*. The phrase Romanizes what is apparently a Menippean motif, for at Lucian, *Icar.* 34 Hermes seizes Menippus by the right ear to drag him back to earth.

ad inferos a caelo 'unde negant redire quemquam': Catull. 3.11–12 *qui nunc it per iter tenebriosum | illud, unde negant redire quemquam*, '[the sparrow] which now goes along that gloomy path from where they say no one returns'. *Illuc*, 'thither' printed here before *unde* by Muretus and others with the omission of *a caelo*, is found in only one primary MS of Catullus – as a marginal variant.

Heinze 72 believes that the MSS reading is correct, and that *a caelo* is the antecedent of *unde*; Seneca will then again (cf. 1.2n. *passibus aequis*) be deliberately misapplying a snippet of a quotation to make a novel point. This is an attractive suggestion. Courtney, on Juv. 6.622, agrees: 'it takes a Claudius to get himself ejected from heaven'.

The word-order unanimously given by the MSS, *ad inferos a caelo unde n.r.q.*, would be intolerably awkward in formal prose, if *ad inferos* is the antecedent of *unde*, and the statement merely literal. Hence Birt and Ball independently suggested transposition, and Rossbach pointed out that

the dots in S after *ad inferos* and *a caelo* respectively could be *puncta transponantia* rather than *puncta delentia*.

Petronius, 132.10, uses the expression metaphorically: *hoc de te merui, ut me in caelo positum ad inferos traheres?*

12. Funeral and lament for Claudius

Some themes of this chapter – public rejoicing over the death of a tyrant; mourners singing a dirge – reappear in Lucian, *Dial. mort.* 10, and may derive from Menippus: Weinreich 107ff. But they are of comparative insignificance in the context of Seneca's wittily inventive Romanization.

12.1 descendunt per uiam Sacram: the *uia Sacra*, the main road to the Forum from the south-east, saw many processions, including the funerals of distinguished citizens under the republic and of emperors under the principate. It would also have been the most convenient route for Claudius' mortal remains from the Palatium to the Forum, where the *laudatio funebris* for Claudius would have been delivered.

interrogat Mercurius: the object of the verb is 'evidently some passer-by' according to Russo, but, in view of Mercury's teasing malice – see 3.1n. – could well be Claudius himself. Buecheler's suggestion to read *Mercurium*, with Claudius as the subject of the verb, takes the humorous point from 12.3 *Claudius ut uidit funus suum*...

quid sibi uelit: *sibi uelle* = 'to mean, signify', a colloquialism, cf. e.g. Hor. *Sat.* 2.5.61 *quid tamen ista uelit sibi fabula, si licet, ede*.

uelit...esset: inconsistency of tense-sequence is in general a symptom of the looseness of informal style; either primary or historic sequence is legitimate after a historic present, *interrogat* here.

formosissimum...efferris: Suet. *Cl.* 45 [*Claudius*] *funeratusque est sollemni principum pompa et in numerum deorum relatus*; Suet. *Nero* 9 [*Nero*] *orsus hinc a pietatis ostentatione Claudium apparatissimo funere elatum laudauit et consecrauit*; Tac. *Ann.* 12.69.4 *caelestesque honores Claudio decernuntur et funeris sollemne perinde ac diuo Augusto celebratur, aemulante Agrippina proauiae Liuiæ magnificentiam*; Tac. *Ann.* 13.2.6.

tubicinum: 'trumpeters' is preferable to the variant *tibicinum* 'flute-players' because *tubae* and *cornua* both belong to the category of brass instruments; and because these instruments are specifically named in

connection with the funerals of the great at Hor. *Sat.* 1.6.42–4 *at hic, si plostra ducenta | concurrantque foro tria funera magna, sonabit | cornua quod uincatque tubas.*

aenatorum: *aenatores* (*aeneatores*, conjectured by Rhenanus, is an alternative form) were the membership, *collegium*, of military brass bands (cf. Suet. *Iul.* 32), including not only *cornicines*, as suggested by Festus 18 (116) L, but also *tubicines*, *liticines* and others. They performed also in theatres (Sen. *Epp.* 84.10) and at funerals (*Acta Lud. Saec. Aug.* = *ILS* 5050 *aenatores in funere canere <solitos>*).

conuentus = ‘assembly’, a near-synonym of *turba*: cf. Cic. *Verr. sec.* 4.50.110 *contio conuentusque ciuium*. But, though this MSS reading is acceptable, Lipsius’ conjecture *concentus*, ‘orchestration’, is attractive: cf. Sen. *Epp.* 84.10 *cum . . . cauea aeneatoribus cincta est et ex pulpito omne tibiarum genus organorumque consonuit, fit concentus ex dissonis* and Juv. 10.213ff. *quid refert, magni sedeat qua parte theatri | qui uix cornicines exaudiet atque tubarum | concentus?* And it derives some slight palaeographical support from 2.3 *contenti* βω, *conuenti* S.

ut . . . audire posset: deafness is not commonly ascribed to Claudius, and is scarcely implied by Dio 60.33.6, but his somnolence may have given that impression: cf. Suet. *Cl.* 8 and 33; Juv. 3.238.

12.2 tamquam liberi: see 1.1n. *liberum factum*.

Agathos: a common enough name – of an *unguentarius* at Petr. 74.15 – here a member and representative of the *causidici*, but not identifiable with a historical person. Junius conjectured *Matho*, comparing Juv. 1.32 – cf. also 7.129 and 11.34 – but it is impossible that a man typical of his profession by A.D. 54 should be practising it actively after the accession of Hadrian in A.D. 117.

causidici plorabant: because the good times would soon be over. By arrogating judicial functions to himself, Claudius had encouraged the rapacity of barristers, who by dishonesty and collusion made flagrantly unlawful profits. The *lex Cincia* of 204 B.C., *qua cautetur antiquitus ne quis ob causam orandam pecuniam donumue accipiat* (Tac. *Ann.* 11.5.3) was ignored, and in spite of senatorial opposition Claudius did not enforce it but tacitly abrogated it by imposing an upper limit of 10,000 sesterces on fees (Tac. *Ann.* 11.5–7). In the first year of Nero’s reign barristers’ fees were regulated (Suet. *Nero* 17), and out-of-court bargaining before trial was made illegal (Tac. *Ann.* 13.5.1).

For Claudius' ill-treatment at the hands of *causidici* see 7.5n. *quantum* ... *miseriarum* and *causidicos*.

sed plane ex animo: 'but with obvious sincerity', unlike the histrionic grief which was part of the pleader's performance.

iurisconsulti: respected and authoritative under the republic, their services had clearly been superfluous under Claudius, who interpreted the law himself, often idiosyncratically: cf. Suet. *Cl.* 14 *nec semper praescripta legum secutus* ...; but his decision was final.

capita conferentes: 'putting their heads together' for a tête-à-tête: cf. Livy 2.45.7 *consules uelut deliberabundi capita conferunt*.

non semper Saturnalia erunt: for the nature of the Saturnalia see 8.2n. *cuius* ... *princeps*. But the expression was proverbial for keeping high holiday in both Greek and Latin: cf. Lucian, *Merc. cond.* 16 οἷε γὰρ εἰσαεῖ Διονύσια εὐρτάσσειν; 'Do you think you will be celebrating the Feast of Dionysus for ever?'; and Petr. 44.3 *isti maiores maxillae semper Saturnalia agunt*.

12.3 ingenti ... μεγάλῳ χορικῷ: 'with a mighty great chorus'; the Latin adjective followed by its Greek near-equivalent is not suspicious in this loose style. For the tautology Löfstedt II. 113 compares Ammian. 22.15.30 *animalium species innumeras multas*; Heraeus, 'ein gutes Bonmot'; Russo, 'un cane bulldog'. Conjectures like *incinente* (Buecheler) and *ingrediente* (Dieterich) for *ingenti*, and Junius' μεγαληγορίαί for μ. χ. are unconvincing. μ. χ. happens itself to be an anapaestic metron.

nenia: 'a dirge'; both Festus 158 (278) L and Cic. *De leg.* 2.24.62 say that it is, or should be, laudatory in character, like a *laudatio funebris* in verse, and accompanied by flutes. We do not know if there actually was one at Claudius' funeral, as had been proposed for Augustus' (Suet. *Aug.* 100.2), and was certainly sung at Julius Caesar's (Appian, *Bell. ciu.* 2.146).

[anapaestis]: probably an intrusive gloss and deleted as such by Heraeus. It smacks of the grammarian's comment: cf. Diomedes, *GL* 1. 511.23 K on Sen. *Medea* 301 *anapaesticum choricum habemus in Seneca: audax* ... *primus*. If kept, the word must be taken as a gesture of self-mocking pedantry.

Anapaestic dimeters are Seneca's favourite choral metre in his tragedies, and he was well aware of their threnodic associations: cf. esp. *H.F.* 1054ff. *lugeat aether* ...; whether they were in fact the metre of any actually performed dirge at this period is unknown.

The formal structure of the *nenia* is clear: three sections of decreasing length contain material which follows in essence the pattern of arrangement of a *laudatio funebris*: (1) vv. 1–18: the summons to mourning (1–2); mental and physical characteristics of the deceased (3–5a); military achievements (6–18) in eastern (6–12) and north-western (13–18) theatres of war; (2) vv. 19–26, introduced by a second summons to mourning, civil achievements, culminating in the equation Claudius = Minos; (3) vv. 27–31 third and final summons to mourning, specifying the three categories affected by the death: lawyers, poets and gamblers; others are, by implication, not seriously affected, and there is no need for the usual closing, a *consolatio* for those left behind.

The whole of the *nenia* is ironic at the expense of the deceased Claudius, but it is also imitative – of Seneca *tragoedus*. Lexical correspondences with the choruses of Seneca's tragedies, especially the *Hercules Furens* (cf. 7.1n. *tragicus fit*), are too numerous to quote exhaustively in the commentary: they are listed by Weinreich 113f.

Rhetorical ornament is abundant throughout: rhyme and structured word-patterns occur *passim*, alliteration at vv. 1, 2, 6–7a, 27, anaphora at vv. 6, 7, 13 (of *ille*) and 29, 30 (of *uosque*).

Metrically there is agreement with Seneca's practice in his tragedies in a number of respects: the restriction of the monometron to close a clause or period or *canticum*; the regular absence of hiatus; *syllaba anceps* usual only at the end of the closing monometron, here of the first section. The only significant difference is the greater proportion of successive spondaic metra in the *nenia*, perhaps for artistic effect in specific instances, perhaps a permissible licence in a looser form of composition like Menippean satire.

12.3.1 edite planctus: lit. 'give forth breast-beatings'; cf. e.g. Sen. *Troad.* 93f. *uacet ad crebri uerbera planctus | furibunda manus*.

After these words L and the l-family offer *fingite mugitus*. They are unmetrical, a hypercatalectic dimeter being inadmissible in choral anapaests. They are almost certainly an interpolation and not a corruption, as assumed by Rhenanus, who conjectured *fingite luctus*, which in any case gives questionable sense. Without *fingite mugitus* the total number of anapaestic dimeters is exactly sixty, and this may not be accidental.

12.3.2 forum: see 12.1n. *descendunt per uiam Sacram*.

12.3.3 pulchre cordatus homo: 'a fine-witted fellow', *cor-*

datus = *catus*. See 8.1n. *nec cor nec caput*, where the speaker, voicing the general opinion, describes Claudius as a nitwit. So here the compliment is ironic, and made even more pointed by the stately archaic language, in which there may be an allusion to Ennius, *Ann. fr.* 331 V³ *egregie cordatus homo, catus Aelius Sextus*, apparently a well-known line, for Cicero quotes it three times, at *De or.* 1.45.198; *Tusc. disp.* 1.9.18; *De rep.* 1.18.30.

12.3.4 non alius = *non alius quisquam* or *nemo alius* in this set phrase with *quo* and a comparative, cf. 12.3. vv. 19f. below.

12.3.5 fortiori: the very opposite was Claudius' most distinguishing characteristic: Suet. *Cl.* 35.1 *nihil aeque quam timidus ac diffidens fuit*; Dio 60.2.4 'from a child he had been reared a constant prey to illness and great terror'.

12.3.6 ille ... ille (v. 13) underline the satirist's scorn for Claudius' readiness to take the credit due to others. He had himself acclaimed *imperator* by the army twenty-seven times.

citato ... cursu: see 1.2n. *non passibus aequis* and 5.2 *pedem dextrum trahere*.

12.3.7 celeris: Russo⁵ 144 ingeniously suggests *Celeres*, the ancient technical designation of the Roman cavalry. But in default of any special connection between them and Claudius, the suggestion lacks point.

12.3.7-8 rebelles | fundere Parthos: Claudius played no personal part in operations in the East. In A.D. 42/3 he had taken the diplomatic step of reinstating Mithridates, who had been imprisoned by Gaius, as ruler of Armenia with Roman support. But by the year of his death the Parthians were everywhere dominant and aggressive: they had re-established control in Armenia on a tide of anti-Roman reaction against oppression, and had successively defeated Rome's princeling nominees to the throne of Parthia: cf. esp. Tac. *Ann.* 12.44-51.

12.3.9 Persida: acc. of the Greek *Persis*, Latin *Persia*, a common poetical equivalent of *Parthia*, here = *Persas*/*Parthos*.

certainae manu: 'and with unerring hand', cf. 6.2n. *solutae manus*.

12.3.10-12 praecipites ... fugacis: an allusion to the well-known tactical ploy of the Parthians to allow themselves to be pursued and then shoot their arrows backwards at their pursuers.

12.3.12 picta refers to their embroidered or multi-coloured costume, the back of which (*terga*) would be most evident in flight.

Medi: the collective singular of national names, especially in military contexts, is common in prose as well as poetry.

fugacis, | ille: synapheia prevails in Seneca's choral anapaests, and the last syllable of the verse is regularly long by nature or position; exceptions are relatively rare and usually occur, as here, before a distinct pause in the sense. The sense-pause is strong at the end of a closing monometron, as with *fortior orbe* above, and there, as very occasionally elsewhere, hiatus is admitted.

12.3.13 Britannos: the only continuous account of Claudius' invasion of Britain in A.D. 43 is Dio 60.19–23: Aulus Plautius was in command of the invading force and after initial successes consolidated a position south of the Thames. Then, as instructed, he summoned Claudius, who on arrival took command, crossed the Thames, defeated the enemy, captured Camulodunum (Colchester), and was hailed as *imperator* – several times, contrary to precedent. Claudius then started back to Rome, where the senate, on hearing a report sent ahead, granted him a triumph, the title *Britannicus* which was also given to his son, and other honours. After an absence of six months, of which only sixteen days had actually been spent in Britain, Claudius reached Rome in A.D. 44 to celebrate his triumph.

The successful initiation of the conquest of Britain was the most spectacular event of Claudius' reign: cf. Tac. *Agr.* 13.3 *diuus Claudius auctor tanti operis . . . domitiae gentes, capti reges*. According to Suet. *Cl.* 17.1 Claudius' motivation was the desire for a legitimate triumph, and the occasion was supplied by internal conflicts in Britain which drove some refugees to seek Roman support: cf. also Dio 60.19.1. But the mutinous conspiracy of Camillus Scribonianus in A.D. 42 must have made Claudius realize the necessity of giving employment to, and securing the loyalty of, the army and its commanders, with their potential to make or break emperors.

12.3.13–14 ultra noti | litora ponti: cf. Dio 60.19.2: 'the soldiers were indignant at the prospect of campaigning outside the limits of the known world'. The words may be an irreverent echo of Claudius' own at *CIL* XIII. 1668 *iam si narrem bella, a quibus coeperint maiores nostri, et quo processerimus, uereor, ne nimio insolentior esse uidear, et quaesisse iactationem gloriae prolati imperi ultra Oceanum*. The theme itself is common enough in contemporary epigram: cf. *Anth. Lat.* 1.1.419–26 R, perhaps written by Seneca.

12.3.15 Brigantas: this, the most populous of British tribes, which occupied territory from the Tyne–Solway isthmus to the Mersey and Sherwood Forest in the south, was not even partly subjugated until the campaigns of Petilius Cerialis, under Vespasian's auspices, in A.D. 71–74: Tac. *Agr.* 17.1. The reference here, in an ironic imitation of exaggerated courtly panegyric, is presumably to the suppression of their internecine rebellion in A.D. 50 by P. Ostorius Scapula, who probably then instated Cartimandua as Roman client-queen of the Brigantes: cf. Tac. *Ann.* 12.32.3f.

Brigantes is treated as a third declension Greek noun: cf. Tac. *Ann.* 12.32.3f. *apud Brigantas . . . et Brigantes . . . resedere.*

caeruleos scuta: 'with their dark-blue shields', probably dyed with woad: cf. Caes. *B.G.* 5.14.3 *omnes uero se Britanni uitro inficiunt, quod caeruleum efficit colorem*; Prop. 2.18c.1f. and 31f. The accusative of respect of a noun with an adjective is a Greek-imitated construction introduced into Latin by the Augustan poets, and favoured by later poetry and Tacitus. Usually the noun designates part of the body: *scuta* is exceptional but not impossible (Buecheler conjectured *uicta*, Scaliger *Scotobrigantas*).

12.3.17–18 ipsum . . . | . . . tremere Oceanum: cf. Suet. *Cl.* 17.3, in the celebration of his triumph Claudius *inter hostilia spolia naualem coronam fastigio Palatinae domus . . . fixit, traieci et quasi domiti Oceani insigne.*

12.3.20 citius discere causas: see 10.4n. *antequam . . . cognosceres . . . audires.*

12.3.21–2 una . . . | . . . neutra: a mischievous over-simplification of the facts as represented by Suet. *Cl.* 15.2, who says that Claudius was predisposed to give judgement in favour of that party to a suit who appeared in court, without considering the reasons for the other's absence; and Dio 60.28.6 who says that when the lawcourts were labouring with backlogs and absenteeism, Claudius proclaimed that he would give judgement against those who failed to appear by a certain day – a rule he enforced strictly.

Heinze 74 believes that *audita, saepe neutra* is too exaggerated a distortion of the facts of Claudius' judicial procedure to be credible as literally intended; he takes the meaning to refer to Claudius' deafness (cf. 12.11n. *ut . . . audire posset*), which was actually absent-mindedness or sleepiness. But Aeacus' retaliation at 14.2 *altera tantum parte audita* clearly contradicts this interpretation.

saepe neutra: the MSS *neutra* 'scans neither as one word nor as two',

J.P. Postgate, *C.R.* 19 (1905) 303f.; i.e. neither *sāepē nēutrā* nor *sāepē nē ūtrā* constitutes an anapaestic metron. But the third possibility, *sāepē nēutrā*, is unexceptionable: in classical Latin poetry trisyllabic scansion of *nēutrā*, with three short syllables, is invariable (*Ciris* 68 is debated), and *t* and *r*, mute and liquid, 'make position'. The *saepe et neutra* of the Ed. Princ. is a stopgap solution of an illusory problem. Postgate suggested *nec utra*, which deserves consideration for the quite different reason that it gives rather better sense, 'not even either'.

12.3.23 toto ... anno: see 7.4n. *totis diebus*.

12.3.25–6 qui ... | ... centum: Minos, king of 'Crete with its hundred cities' (Hom. *Il.* 2.649) and judge of the dead (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.432f. *quaesitor Minos urnam mouet; ille silentum | consiliumque uocat uitasque et crimina discit*) will be rendered redundant by Claudius' arrival: biting irony in view of what actually happens to him in sections 14 and 15.

12.3.28 o cauidici, uenale genus: see 12.2n. *cauidici plorabant*, and cf. Tac. *Ann.* 11.5.2 *nec quicquam publicae mercis tam uenale fuit quam aduocatorum perfidia* and Petr. 14.2 *ergo iudicium nihil est nisi publica merces, | atque eques in causa qui sedet, empti probat*.

12.3.29 uosque poetae ... noui: 'and you modern [i.e. contemporary] poets'. There is no evidence to suggest that Claudius actively encouraged and patronized contemporary poets, but some (Pliny, *Epp.* 1.13.3) that he was an obliging listener to their recitations. The satirist may be venting his own feelings: cf. 2.3n. *poetae ... etiam medium diem inquietent*.

12.3.30–1 uosque ... | ... fritillo: according to Suet. *Cl.* 5 and 33.2 Claudius had set an example for gamblers by conspicuously flouting the law against dicing – *uetita legibus alea* Hor. *C.* 3.24.58 – though this had always been more honoured in the breach than the observance. For the dice-box see 14.4n. *fritillo*.

The two themes of judgement in the underworld at 12.3 vv. 24–6 and dice-playing at 12.3 vv. 30–1, here merely enunciated, are later developed to fill sections 14 and 15.

13–15 In the underworld: Claudius' punishment

13.1 inicit illi manum: *inicare manum* is a legal t.t. for 'to apprehend, arrest'.

Talhybius deorum [nuntius]: Talhybius, Agamemnon's herald

(Hom. *Il.* 1.320), speedy and zealous, was the eponymous founder of the herald-clan, Talthybiades, at Sparta (Hdt. 7.134.1), and became proverbial for the best of his kind: cf. e.g. Plaut. *Stich.* 305 *contundam facta Talthybi contemnunque omnis nuntios*.

The 'Talthybius of the gods' was Mercury: Hor. *C.* 1.10.5f. *Iouis et deorum | nuntium*. For the form of expression cf. Ovid, *A.A.* 1.8 *Tiphys et Automedon dicar Amoris ego*; Mart. 11.31.1 *Atreus Caecilius cucurbitarum*.

Talthybius was not 'the messenger of the gods', nor does he play any part in the satire: *nuntius* is an intrusive gloss, first deleted as such by Camden (cited by Gruter). (The name and the function seem to have been inseparable in the scholastic mind: among the *dramatis personae* of Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* there appears in the MSS Ταλθύβιος κήρυξ, where it is the name which is the intrusive element.)

capite obuoluto: 'with his head muffled up', to avoid recognition; cf. Cic. *Verr. sec.* 5.28.72 *itaque alii ciues Romani, ne cognoscerentur, capitibus obuolutis e carcere ad palum . . . rapiebantur*. But he could have been recognized earlier, at the funeral procession: as Weinreich suggests, the author may have been influenced by the thought of the practice of veiling the head in ritual acts, especially those concerned with death and the underworld.

inter Tiberim et uiam Tectam: the *uia Tecta* is coupled with the *uia Flaminia* at Mart. 8.75.1f. *dum repetit sera conductos nocte penates | Lingonus a Tecta Flaminiaque recens*, in a context which names them, apparently, as roads a visiting Gaul from the north would take to arrive in the centre of Rome; the same topographical point underlies *primae . . . Tectae* at Mart. 3.5.5.

The name *Tecta* has suggested to some an identification with the *uia Fornicata* of Livy 22.36.8, the names referring to some kind of roofed or arcaded thoroughfare. It has generally been taken to be a part, or continuation, of the *Porticus Maximae*.

Claudius' mortal remains were probably taken from the Palatine to the Forum, and from there to a riverside part of the Campus Martius for cremation: hence the point of Seneca's brother's witticism (Intro. p. 1). Nero had the *bustum* enclosed and commemorated with nothing but a low functional wall (Suet. *Nero* 33.1).

But the satirist must find a route for Claudius' ghost to reach the underworld. An obvious choice, alluded to here, was via the *Tarentum*, a site near the river in an arm of the Tiber, on the Campus Martius, where

originally flameless fumes were emitted from the ground, presumably the vestiges of volcanic activity. This, like others of its kind, was thought to be an entrance to the underworld; near it was built the *ara Ditis patris et Proserpinae*, deities whose worship featured prominently in the *Ludi Saeculares* (*Tarentini*), which had been celebrated by Claudius in A.D. 47, according to his own computation that they were due (Suet. *Cl.* 21.2). The remains of the altar and of the *Acta Ludorum Saecularium* were discovered near the spot in 1886–7.

13.2 compendiaria: sc. *uia*, ‘by a short cut’; cf. Sen. *Epp.* 119.1 *ad maximas te diuitias compendiaria ducam*; Sen. *Epp.* 27.6; Varro, *Men.* 510B.

Narcissus libertus: Claudius’ private secretary, *ab epistulis*, a wealthy and powerful freedman, whose own interests and survival depended on Claudius’ own, was away from Rome, at Sinuessa in Campania, taking a health-cure for gout – at Agrippina’s suggestion: Dio 60.34.4 – when Agrippina put her plot into effect (Tac. *Ann.* 12.66.1); had he not been, it might have failed (Dio 60.34.4). But Agrippina took her revenge immediately after Nero’s accession and forced him to commit suicide (cf. Dio 60.34.5f.; Tac. *Ann.* 13.1.4 *ne minus prosperato Narcissus . . .*). Suicide and lack of ceremonial burial gave him the ‘short cut’ he needed to reach the underworld before the predeceased Claudius.

nitidus . . . balineo: ‘sleek and shining, straight from the bath’: perhaps an allusion to the thermal baths at Sinuessa (see the preceding note); but Narcissus, like others, may possibly have committed suicide by cutting his veins in a bath, though Dio 60.34.6 implies otherwise.

ut erat a balineo: *ut* with an indicative tense of *esse*, formally a clause of comparison, can, as here, come to signify circumstance or cause; see KS II. 451f. A verb of rest, here *esse*, is sometimes construed with *a(b)* and the ablative, or *ad* and the accusative, which strictly belong to the unexpressed motion preceding the rest: cf. KS 1.519f.

quid di ad homines?: cf. Herod. 1.9 *τί οὐ θεός πρὸς ἀνθρώπου;* The sentiment, to express (ironic) surprise at a rarity, was quasi-proverbial. O. Weinreich, *Hermes* 61 (1926) 237ff., cites the *Suda* s.v. Σαλλούστιος φιλόσοφος: Salloustios the Cynic, in reply to the question of the Sophist Pamprepios ‘What business have the gods with men?’, said ‘Who does not know that I never became a god, nor you a man?’ The present context also invests the expression with a double witticism: Claudius

had failed to become a 'proper' god, and Narcissus was no longer a man.

celerius: see the note on 7.1 *citius mihi uerum*. (Vat. Lat. 4498 and the Ed. Princ. interpolate not unintelligently: *Celerius praecedito, inquit Mercurius, et uenire nos nuntia. Ille autem patrono plura blandiri uolebat, quem Mercurius iterum festinare iussit et uirga narrantem impulit. Dicto citius ...*)

13.3 dicto citius: a set phrase with a lively tone common to all stylistic levels: Petr. 74.4; Hor. *Sat.* 2.2.80; Livy 23.47.6; Virg. *Aen.* 1.142.

facile descenditur: a paraphrase of Virg. *Aen.* 6.126 *facilis descensus Averno*; cf. Sen. *H.F.* 675 (Theseus describes Hades) *nec ire labor est; ipsa deducit uia*.

podagricus: see the note on 13.2 *Narcissus liberius*.

ad ianuam Ditis: Virg. *Aen.* 6.127 *noctes atque dies patet atri ianua Ditis*.

'belua centiceps': cf. Hor. *C.* 2.13.33ff. ... *ubi illis [sc. Alcae] carminibus stupens | demittit atras belua centiceps | aures ...* The canonical Cerberus of classical art and literature, typified by Virg. *Aen.* 6.417ff., has three heads. Hesiod, *Theog.* 312 had given him fifty. But Horace follows an isolated tradition, represented by Pindar fr. 249b, which gave him a hundred – a grotesque exaggeration for which Horace, in imitation of Pindar, invented the otherwise unattested compound adjective *centiceps*, whose unique pretentiousness stuck in the satirist's mind.

(Vat. Lat. 4498 and the Ed. Princ. again interpolate: *'belua centiceps' sese mouens uillosque horrendos excutiens. pusillum subperturbatur ut illum uidit canem nigrum. Nam albam canem in deliciis habere consueuerat: ille autem totus informis est, nec quem uelis tibi in tenebris occurrere. Et magna inquit uoce 'Claudius Caesar uenit'. Ecce extemplo cum plausu procedunt cantantes ...*)

subalbam canem ... illum ... canem nigrum: 'a whitish bitch ... that black hound'.

sane non quem ... occurrere: cf. Juv. 5.53f. *nigri ... Mauri | et cui per mediam nolis occurrere noctem*. A savage appearance is frightening, especially when a dark night makes it almost invisible because of its black colour.

13.4 εὐρίκαμεν συγχαίρομεν: 'we have found [him], let us rejoice together'. -WOMEN is unambiguously given by S, V and L; it had been correctly discerned by Nic. Faber. The jussive subjunctive makes sense

here, and there is no need to adopt Buecheler's suggestion to read *συγχαίρομεν*, which is the form given by authors who cite it (see Griffiths 452), though a normal iambic dimeter would have made the *plausus* rhythmical to the end.

This ritual cry of the Isis-cult was part of the uninhibited rejoicing at the discovery of a new bull (Apis), regarded as an incarnation of Osiris, potent to encourage the growth of crops. Reference is made to the ceremony by (notably) Seneca in a lost work *De superstitionibus* cited by Augustine, *De ciu. Dei* 6.10, and Juvenal 8.29f. *exclamare libet populus quod clamat Osiri | inuento*. Claudius may have taken an official interest in the Isis-cult, as he did in other oriental cults: see Momigliano 28 and n. 16.

The reaction to the news of Claudius' arrival, *cum plausu . . . συγχαίρομεν*, is unexpectedly bizarre. Commentators profess to find it humorous but refrain from saying why. The point would have been readily taken by an educated Roman, whose religious and philosophical thinking regarded deathlessness as an inseparable quality of divinity, and who therefore viewed a religious cult which worshipped what it held to be a god (Osiris) by lamenting his annual death and celebrating his annual rebirth, as absurdly paradoxical. Claudius too, addressed as *deus* and θεός even in his lifetime, had died, and now presents himself to his past victims as an astonishing rebirth (among the dead!).

C. Silius was consul-designate in A.D. 47 (when he led the senate's pressure for the enforcement of the *lex Cincia*: Tac. *Ann.* 11.5.3; see the note on 12.2 *causidici plorabant*) through the influence of Messalina, who, wild with passion for him, *iuventutis Romanae pulcherrimum*, made him divorce his own wife Iunia Silana: Tac. *Ann.* 11.12.1–2. The scandal of his wedding to Messalina, and his known ambition to usurp Claudius' place on the throne as well, led Narcissus to denounce them both to Claudius: Tac. *Ann.* 11.26–38; Suet. *Cl.* 26.2; 29.3; 36; Dio 60.31.1–5.

Of the remaining seven persons in this sentence M. Helvius (if a separate individual), Cotta and Fabius are not otherwise known. Those who can be identified, together with Mnester in the following sentence, had been accomplices in Messalina's activities and shared her ruin.

Iuncus praetorius had his name and status restored to him by Sonntag, on the basis of Tac. *Ann.* 11.35.7 *Iuncus Vergilianus senator*, displacing the non-existent Iunius Praetorius of earlier editors. Iuncus too was implicated and lost his life.

Sex. Traulus: his name was recovered by Lipsius: cf. Tac. *Ann.*

11.36.4 *ne Trauli quidem Montani equitis Romani defensio recepta est*, though this handsome and modest young man had had no choice but to serve Messalina as a one-night stud.

Trogus: probably Saufeius Trogus (Tac. *Ann.* 11.35.6), also put to death.

Vettius Valens, his name restored by Buecheler, had been an *eques* and a distinguished physician, with an inside knowledge of Messalina (Pliny, *N.H.* 29.20); at her Bacchanalian Vintage party, he had seen and foreseen 'atrocious weather from Ostia': Tac. *Ann.* 11.31.6. His admission of guilt did not save him: Tac. *Ann.* 11.35.6.

Fabius, like M. Helvius and Cotta, is not identifiable. The rank of Saufeius(?) Trogus is unknown. Sex. Traulus Montanus was an *eques* (Tac. *Ann.* 11.36.4) and so was Vettius Valens: hence the need for *equites*, not *eques*, in the text.

duci iusserat: cf. 6.2 *duci iubebat* and note.

Mnester pantomimus: the actor-dancer Mnester, 'the Wooer', was perhaps a freedman of Tiberius (*CIL* vi. 20139), certainly idolized by Gaius on the stage (Suet. *Cal.* 55.1) and in bed (Suet. *Cal.* 36.1). When the senate ordered all the bronze coinage bearing Gaius' image to be melted down, Messalina made statues of Mnester out of it (Dio 60.22.3f.), but in order to requisition his sexual services she had to persuade Claudius to command him to do all her bidding. A plea of *force majeure* did not save him from death: Tac. *Ann.* 11.36.1–3; Dio 60.22.4f.

decōris causa minorem fecerat: in the eyes of Claudius at least he had grown too big for his boots, so he rectified the fault by the extremest form of *capitis diminutio*, making him 'shorter by the head'. This is the only source which specifies the manner of his death, if indeed it does.

minorem fecerat ad Messalinam: 'had cut down to suit Messalina'. *minor*, if qualified by *capitis*, refers to *capitis diminutio*; *ad* can mean, among many other things, 'in comparison with' or 'by the standard of' (KS 1. 522f.). This eccentric clause may result from a desire to say one thing and imply another, *decoris causa* being ironical in either case: to say that Claudius had diminished Mnester in comparison with Messalina by subordinating him to her commands (see above), and to imply that by beheading the tall Mnester Claudius had made him equal to Messalina in height or lower. But historical sources say nothing about his height or about the way he was put to death.

The Ed. Princ. offers *nec non Messalinam*, but merely appending Messalina (as does Dio 60.31.4f.) would make feeble sense and style here, even with a more convincing connective like *aeque quam* (cf. 11.1 and note).

Most editors follow Buecheler's last thoughts on the problem and print ... *minorem fecerat. ad Messalinam – cito rumor percrebuit Claudium uenisse – conuolant: primi omnium* ... This creates a parenthesis, which is stylistically quite acceptable, but also dissociates Messalina from the preceding group of victims, with all the identifiable members of which she had known connections, and associates her with the following group, with most of whose identifiable members she had none: special and specious pleading is needed to explain why, e.g. that Messalina *had been* hand in glove with Claudius' freedmen until she forfeited their trust, and consequently her own life, by denouncing Polybius, while continuing to have sexual relations with him (Dio 60.31.2).

13.5 Polybius: Claudius' powerful freedman *ab studiis* (Suet. *Cl.* 28) and also, apparently, *a libellis* (cf. Sen. *Cons. Polyb.* 6.5 *audienda sunt* [sc. *tibi*] *tot hominum milia, tot disponendi libelli*). For his fate, see the preceding note.

Myron: otherwise unknown.

Arpocras: cf. Suet. *Cl.* 28 *libertorum praecipue suspexit* [sc. *Claudius*] ... *et Harpocran, cui lectica per urbem uehendi spectaculaque publice edendi ius tribuit*; perhaps to be identified with the *Arpocras Aug. lib. procurator* of *CIL* vi. 9016.

Ampheus: not otherwise known.

Pheronaotus: see the *apparatus*. The name seems to be a Latin transliteration of Φηρῶν ἄωτος, 'the pick [choicest] of Centaurs'. The individual is otherwise unknown.

(Vat. Lat. 4498 and the Ed. Princ. interpolate the names of Posides, Felix and Pallas from Suet. *Cl.* 28.)

nēcubi = *nē (ali)cubi*, 'so that ... not ... anywhere'.

imparatus esset: ironical, for Claudius' freedmen did not look after their master: cf. 6.2. J.P. Postgate, *C.R.* 19 (1905) 303f. suggested *necubi imperator esset*, which would be a directly scathing comment (cf. Suet. *Cl.* 29.1); but change is unnecessary, and unjustified by V's aberrational *imparatus*.

praemiserat: these freedmen, other than Polybius, may, as

Buecheler suggests, have been among the many slaves and freedmen of Claudius implicated in the conspiracy of Asinius Gallus and Statilius Corvinus in A.D. 46: cf. Suet. *Cl.* 13. It is not impossible that they were put to death, even though Asinius Gallus himself was merely banished: Dio 60.27.5.

Iustus Catonius had served under Tiberius as *primi ordinis centurio* in Pannonia in A.D. 14: Tac. *Ann.* 1.29.2. He rose to be Prefect of the Pretorian Guard under Claudius. Messalina destroyed him in A.D. 43, before he could tell Claudius about her *lounge* living: Dio 60.18.3.

Rufius Pollio: his name was restored here by H.S. Reimar from Dio 60.23.2: 'to Rufius Pollio the Prefect [sc. of the Pretorian Guard] he [sc. Claudius] granted a statue and a seat in the senate for as often as he should go to the meeting with him'. Claudius conferred these marks of distinction on him in A.D. 44, some years after he had appointed him Prefect, in A.D. 41: Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* 19.14.5. But there is no other evidence that he was later one of Claudius' victims.

Earlier editors plausibly extracted *Rufus Pompei(i) filius* from the MSS. A number of men had borne the name (Q.) Pompeius Rufus. Julius Caesar had married the daughter of one of them: Suet. *Iul.* 6.2. But the MSS *Pompei(i)* is better regarded as an adapted intrusion of the following (*Pedo*) *Pompeius* until it can be bodied out with evidence.

amici ... consulares: under the early Empire the *amici Caesaris* constituted an unofficial but not unconstitutional advisory panel consulted by the emperor as and when he saw fit; cf. Tac. *Ann.* 14.62.6 *fateturque* [sc. Nero] *apud amicos quos uelut consilio adhibuerat princeps*.

Of the four named *amici*, *Pedo Pompeius*, in spite of the rôle he is given in the satire (13.6; 14.2) is not otherwise known. *Lusius Saturninus* had held the consulship, apparently late in the reign of Tiberius: *CIL* III. 1.2028. Cornelius *Lupus* had been pretorian proconsul of Crete and Cyrene under Tiberius, and *consul suffectus* in A.D. 42: Gaius 3.63. Both had fallen victim to the intrigues of P. Suillius: Tac. *Ann.* 13.43.3. Ser. *Asinius Celer* had been *consul suffectus* in A.D. 38: Frontinus, *De aq.* 2.102. He probably met his death in some way other than being involved in the conspiracy led by his brother Asinius Gallus, who merely suffered banishment: Dio 60.27.5.

fratris filia: Julia, daughter of Germanicus; see the note on 10.4.

sororis filia: Julia, daughter of Livia and Drusus; see the note on 10.4.

generi: L. Silanus and Pompeius Magnus; see the notes on 8.2 and 11.2.

soceri: Appius Silanus and Crassus Frugi, the father of Claudius' son-in-law Magnus; see the notes on 11.5 and 11.2.

socrus: Messalina's mother, Domitia Lepida, sentenced to death by Claudius in A.D. 53 through Agrippina's fear of her influence: Tac. *Ann.* 12.64.4 – 65.2; and Scribonia, the mother of his son-in-law Magnus: see the note on 11.2.

agmine facto ... occurrunt: forming a procession to meet a new arrival is perhaps a motif of Menippean satire: cf. Lucian, *Catapl.* 26. Weinreich 121–4 traces the literary history of six other motifs in this chapter – mostly to a presumed origin in Menippean satire.

13.6 πάντα φίλων πλήρη: 'everything full of friends'; more than the surface meaning seems to be conveyed. In the second-century B.C. 'Misanthrope' (= Diehl *Anth. Lyr. Graec.*³ 1. 299), v. 23 runs ἐπὶ νῦν ἐχθρὸς τι, πάντα σοὶ φίλων πλήρη, 'when you have something, everything is full of friends for you'. The partial quotation of this here suggests that the amnesiac Claudius imagines himself still to be in power and those he sees still to be his friends.

Less probably there is a play on Thales' teaching πάντα πλήρη θεῶν εἶναι, 'that everything is full of gods' (cited by Arist. *De anim.* 411a8), adapted by Seneca both verbally, by substituting φίλων for θεῶν, and metrically, by arranging the words to make a hemiepes, πᾶντ' ἄ φίλων πλήρη.

quomodo ... uos: see the note on 11.1 *Messalinam ... quam quod occidisti* for Claudius' forgetfulness about those whose execution he had commanded.

uos: the last word of a Latin sentence regularly carries the greatest emphasis, here appropriately placed on *uos*.

sellas: here, as often, = *sella curulis*, the chair of the presiding magistrate, which Claudius as judge had so often occupied in life. But now the situation is to be reversed, as Augustus' motion had decreed: see the note on 11.5 *rerum iudicandarum uacationem*.

14 The satire now moves speedily to an end in short simple sentences. Abrupt changes of subject, which could be signalled in recitation, keep the reader alert.

14.1 ad tribunal Aeaci: judicial procedure in the underworld is thoroughly Romanized, as it had been, most notably, by Virgil at *Aen.* 6.431ff. The presiding judge, *praetor*, here is Aeacus, more favoured by Roman literature generally than his traditional colleagues Minos (cf. 12.3) and Rhadamanthus as infernal judge *par excellence*: cf. especially Hor. *C.* 2.13.22f., Prop. 4.11.19ff., Juv. 1.9f. But here he is given a specialized function: see below.

lege Cornelia ... de sicariis: among a number of laws enacted by Sulla as dictator in 81 B.C. was the *lex Cornelia de sicariis et ueneficis* which prescribed capital punishment, i.e. loss of *caput* in the legal sense, for murder or attempted murder by weapon, poison or magic; it also punished those who had given unjust sentences for capital offences: cf. *Inst. Iustin.* 4.18.5, *Dig.* 48.8 *passim*.

quaerebat: 'used to try cases', as president of the standing court, *quaestio perpetua*, set up to deal exclusively with cases in the purview of a specific law. The *quaestio de sicariis* was the appropriate court to try cases of judicial murder: cf. 13.6 *omnium amicorum intersector*.

postulat ... subscriptionem: in Rome prosecution could be initiated by any private citizen, here Peto Pompeius. The first step was to make a demand, *postulare*, on the magistrate of the appropriate court for permission to prosecute. When permission had been granted the accuser reported the name of the accused, *nomen deferre*, in a written indictment called a *scriptio* because the accuser was legally obliged to underwrite it with his own name, so that he could be penalized if the prosecution were unjustified or malicious: cf. *Dig.* 48.2.7. The magistrate then entered the charge in the official record, *nomen recipere*, questioned the accused and, unless he received a plea of 'guilty', appointed a date for the hearing.

occisos ... κόνας τε: the essential indictment of Claudius and his principate. The MSS misplace the numerals: see the *apparatus*. At the archetypal stage of transmission the number of *equites R.* had been transposed to follow *ceteros* and replaced by *u* or *ũ* (= *uersus*), presumably indicating the Homeric quotation following *ceteros*.

The conjectures accepted are those which most nearly bring the numbers into agreement with Suetonius, who cannot be shown to have used Seneca as a source: *Cl.* 29.2 *in quinque et triginta senatores trecentosque amplius equites R. tanta facilitate animaduertit, ut . . .*; cf. Tac. *Ann.* 13.43.3 *iam equitum Romanorum agmina damnata omnemque Claudii saeuitiam Suillio obiectabant*; Calp. Sic. *Ecl.* 1.60ff. and 1.56f.

Of the thirty-five senators killed, ten are named in the satire itself, and the names of nine others were assembled by Buecheler from other sources, chiefly Tacitus.

δοα ... τε: Hom. *Il.* 9.385 οὐδ' εἰ μοι τόσα δοίη δοα ψάμαθός τε κόνις τε. Achilles says that Agamemnon could not persuade him by any gifts, 'not even if he were to give me as many as the [grains of] sand and the [specks of] dust'.

14.2 aduocatum: here in the exclusively Silver Latin sense 'advocate', 'defending counsel', called *patronus* (cf. 14.2) or *orator* up to the time of Augustus.

inuenit: the subject is Claudius, necessarily, for he is the only *reus* in the context, and the only person who might be looking for an *aduocatus*. There is no ambiguity, despite the abrupt and elliptical style. Wachsmuth's <*iste*> is palaeographically attractive, but no such supplement is necessary.

(The Ed. Princ. interpolates in such a way as to remove the awkwardness: *Exterritus Claudius oculos undecunque circumfert, uestigat aliquem patronum qui se defenderet. Aduocatum non inuenit.*)

P. Petronius: after being *consul suffectus* in A.D. 19, he was proconsul of Asia A.D. c. 29–35, and later, under Gaius, a praiseworthy *legatus* of Syria. He would have been a senior consular at the time of Claudius' accession, but there is no independent evidence that he was a long-standing intimate (*uetus conuictor*).

Claudiana lingua disertus: 'with Claudius' gift of the gab', close association having made him as inarticulate and unintelligible as Claudius himself: cf. 4.3 and note. *disertus* is both disparaging (cf. Cic. *Pro Cael.* 67 *ad unum disertum*) and ironical.

aduocationem here means the postponement or adjournment of the hearing, to allow time for summoning legal assistance: cf. Sen. *Contr.* 3 *praef.* 17 *postulaui ut praetor nomen eius reciperet lege inscripti maleficii. tanta illius perturbatio fuit, ut aduocationem peteret*; Sen. *De ira* 1.18.1 *ratio utrique parti tempus dat, deinde aduocationem et sibi petit, ut excutiendae ueritati spatium habeat.*

aduocatio cannot here mean 'the office of [Claudius'] defending counsel': this is ruled out by *non datur* followed by *incipit patronus uelle respondere*.

non datur: Aeacus acts in the spirit of Augustus' motion, 11.5: *placet ... nec illi rerum iudicandarum uacationem dari.*

incipit ... uelle respondere: this construction is a formula of *sermo*

plebeius, cf. Petr. 9.4 *accucurrit coepitque mihi uelle pudorem extorquere*; 70.10; 98.8; though pleonastic expressions with either *uelle* or *coepisse* (*incipere*) are not uncommon in literary Latin: KS II. 569f.

altera tantum parte audita: cf. 12.3 *una tantum parte audita*; 10.4. Aeacus' object all sublime is to make not the punishment but the procedure fit part of the crime.

αἶκε ... γένοιτο: αἶκε πάθοι τὰ τ' ἔρεξε, δίκη κ' ἰθεῖα γένοιτο is first attested in Hesiod's *Μεγὰλα Ἔργα* fr. 286 M–W. Such a crude expression of the *lex talionis* well suits the author of such moral imperatives as 'and give to him who gives, and do not give to him who does not give' (*Op.* 354). But it passed, if it did not earlier belong, into the realm of *proverbia adespota*: Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 1132b cites it as τὸ 'Ραδαμάνθυος δίκαιον, 'the justice of Rhadamanthus'.

The philosophy of 'an eye for an eye' also underlies Theseus' description of the underworld at Sen. *H.F.* 735f. *quod quisque fecit patitur; auctorem scelus | repetit, suoque premittitur exemplo nocens*.

The primary MSS quite clearly give -σταρεξας and -ηευθ-, and the whole line therefore is αἶκε πάθοις τὰ ἔρεξας δίκη εὐθεῖα γένοιτο. The judge addresses the prisoner at the bar directly. Russo assembles evidence to show that deliberate adaptation of verse quotations, even, as here, with unmetrical results, is not unparalleled in classical authors.

Claudius himself, at least once, had used a sententious Greek hexameter to point his meaning, by giving the soldiers the watchword ἄνδρ' ἀπαμύνασθαι ὅτε τις πρότερος χαλεπήνῃ (*Hom. Il.* 24. 369), 'to defend oneself against the man, when someone starts turning nasty': Dio 60.16.7.

14.3 Claudio...nouum: 'Claudius thought it [sc. this kind of procedure] was unfair rather than unprecedented': unfair, because it now applied to him, not unprecedented, because he himself had practised it.

de genere poenae: the normal penalty for persons found guilty under the *lex Cornelia de sicariis* was the loss of *caput*, not by the extreme sanction of death, but by banishment and forfeit of property, *deportatio et bonorum ademptio*: *Dig.* 48.8.5. But in the present context an infernal equivalent has to be found, as at Lucian, *Catapl.* 28–9.

Si(syph)um ... fecisse: see the *apparatus*. In the ubiquitous *locus communis* of mythical malefactors and their punishments, a hard core is made up of Tantalus, Tityus, Sisyphus and Ixion: cf. e.g. [Sen.] *Oct.*

621-3. From Homer's *Nekyia* onwards a group of three sinners is the most usual: at *Od.* 11.576ff. they are Tityus, Tantalus and Sisyphus. Ixion was allocated to Hades by Hellenistic writers, and the group Sisyphus, Tantalus and Ixion occurs in Lucian, *Tragodopodagra* 11f. and *Prop.* 4.11.23f.

F. Buecheler proposed *Si<syph>um <satis> diu laturam fecisse [nt]*, 'that Sisyphus had done his fetching and carrying long enough', with an explanation in *RhM* 13 (1858) 580ff., and this, with omission or change of *<satis>*, has been accepted by most editors, in spite of the difficulty of *laturam* (see below), and of the fact that Sisyphus is mentioned later at 15.1. vv. 7f.

Orelli restored Tityus and his punishment in a phrase quite unsupported by the *ductus litterarum* of the primary MSS: *Tityum iam diu uultures pauisse*. It is tempting to suggest: *<Tit>yum diu ia<c>turam fecisse* ἐντ<έρων>, 'that Tityus had for a long time suffered the loss of his guts', ἐντερά being a comically disparaging reference to his *immortale iecur* (*Virg. Aen.* 6.598). (*iacturam* was first suggested by Curio, but in the phrase *nisi unius diei iacturam fecissent*.) With this suggestion cf. Gronov's conjecture *Tityi* for *uni* at *Sen. Medea* 746.

laturam: 'portage', a coinage with the *-ura* suffix of *sermo plebeius*, cf. *mercatura*, *uectura*; *laturam facere* = 'to do the job of carrying', 'to act as porter', cf. *mercaturam facere*. But the word is not attested before the second century A.D. at the earliest, though thereafter, like *laturarius* 'a porter', it is not uncommon.

sufflaminandum: *sufflaminare* = 'to put the brake on', *sufflamen* 'a brake, drag' being a road-haulier's term; cf. *Juv.* 8.148 *ipse rotam adstringit sufflamine mulio consul*.

14.4 non placuit...dari: 'it was not resolved that any of the old-timers should be let off'. *missionem dari* here = 'that remission [of due punishment] be granted'; cf. *Petr.* 52.6 *exoratus a nobis missionem dedit puero*. The meaning of *missio* in *ueteranis missio datur*, 'the veteran soldiers are given their discharge', is related but different. The eternally damned were not *ueterani* in either a literal or a metaphorical sense (see the *apparatus*). *missio* can also = 'respite, quarter' given to a gladiator; cf. e.g. *Mart.* 12.29.7 *nuper cum Myrino peteretur missio laeso*; but *ueteranus* (see LS s.v.) is not used in connection with gladiators, as Weinreich 129f. supposes.

The idea of stopping the torture of the damned, or of finding a

replacement for them, occurs more than once, with appropriately exalted expression, in Seneca's tragedies, e.g. at *Medea* 744f. With *ueteribus* cf. Sen. *H.F.* 580 *ueteres excutiant reos* sc. the infernal judges.

nouam poenam: so too in Lucian, *Catapl.* 28–9 a new and fitting penalty is devised by Rhadamanthus for the tyrant Megapenthes – to be shackled and not to be given the water of Lethe to drink, so that he remembered the licentious power and luxury he used to have in life.

excogitandum . . . effectus: Claudius' punishment has the same distinguishing feature of unending frustration as that of Tantalus and Sisyphus. Its novelty and fittingness lie in the form it takes, dice-playing being a special addiction of Claudius (see 12.3 *uosque . . . fritillo* n.). Its closest model among established punishments is the task of the Danaids to try and fill with water jars which either happened to be leaky or had been deliberately made so by being cracked or perforated: cf. e.g. Sen. *Medea* 748f. *uos quoque, urnis quas foratis inritus ludis labor, | Danaides, coite.*

alicuius cupiditatis spem sine effectus: 'the hope of some object of desire without its achievement'. For *cupiditas* = 'object of desire' cf. Cic. *Ad Q.F.* 1.1.19 *hominis . . . cuius tu ex impurissimis faucibus inhonestissimam cupiditatem eripuisti*. The singular of *spes* is very much more common than the plural, and therefore accepted here from an admittedly erratic MSS family. For *effectus* cf. Sen. *Epp.* 114.16 *in uanum exeunt [sc. sententiae] et sine effectus nihil amplius quam sonant*. Russo compares Lucian, *Amor.* 16 τῇ δὲ τραπέζῃ τέτταρας ἀστράγαλους . . . ἀπαριθμήσας διεπέττενε τὴν ἐλπίδα . . . προσεκύνει τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τεύξεσθαι νομίζων, 'he would count out four dice-bones on the table and take a gamble on his expectations . . . he would prostrate himself, thinking that he would gain the object of his desire'.

pertuso fritillo: 'with a dice-box with a hole bored in its bottom'; cf. Lucian, *Dial. mort.* 11.4 τὸν τετροπημένον πίθον, 'the perforated wine-jar'; Plaut. *Ps.* 369 *in pertusum ingerimus dicta dolium*; Lucr. 3.936f. *et non omnia pertusum congesta quasi in uas | commoda perfluxere*.

fritillo: a dice-box in which dice were shaken and then thrown out is called *phimus* (φίμος = 'muzzle[-shaped object]') by Horace at *Sat.* 2.7.17. *fritillus* is first attested here. The *turricula* (Mart. 14.16) or *pyrgus* (Sid. *Epp.* 8.12.5), down the inside 'steps' of which dice were thrown to come out at the bottom, was securer against cheating.

15.1.2 subducto ... fundo: 'with its bottom removed', apparently the same idea as *pertuso fritillo* 14.4: the hole in the bottom must have been a very big one.

15.1.2-3 tessera ... talos: used synonymously, with poetic looseness. *tali*, 'knucklebones', strictly 'anklebones', were rectangular bars with rounded ends, each of the four sides being moulded differently and thereby indicating a number (1,3,4,6), which was not however marked: the highest score was obtained when each of four *tali* showed a different number. The *tessera*, like a modern die, was a cube, the sides bearing the numbers one to six: the highest score was obtained by throwing a six on as many dice as were in play, never, apparently, more than three, here two, *utraque* 15.1. See further Balsdon 155f.

15.1.4 lusuro ... petenti: 'always like someone on the point of playing, and always like someone in the act of searching': a clever application of an epic formula: cf. Hom. *Od.* 11.608 αἰεὶ βαλὲοντι ἑοικώς, 'always like a man about to shoot', said of Herakles – possibly the germ-source of the phrase here; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.602 *quos super atra silex iam iam lapsura cadentique | imminet adsimilis*; Virg. *Aen.* 8.649 *illum indignanti similem similemque minanti*.

15.2 subito: 'suddenly', but not without the motivation of revenge, cf. 11.2n.

illum ... ab illo: the repetition of the same pronoun is, in the style of the satire, not intolerable; for suggested improvements see the *apparatus*.

viderant ... uapulantem: witnesses that on earth Gaius had treated Claudius as a slave and a professional buffoon (see Juv. 5.171ff.): cf. Suet. *Cal.* 23.3 *Claudium patrum non nisi in ludibrium reservauit*; Suet. *Cl.* 8 *interdum ferula flagroue uelut per ludum excitabatur [sc. Claudius] a copreis*; Suet. *Cl.* 9.1 (Caligula had Claudius thrown into the river); Suet. *Nero* 6.2 *tum [under Gaius] Claudius inter ludibria aulae erat*; Dio 59.23.5 (Caligula would have killed Claudius if he had not despised him).

adiudicatur ... donat: there is a serious textual and interpretative problem here, overlooked by editors and commentators alike. The vulgate reading is *adiudicatur C. Caesari*; *Caesar illum Aeaco donat. is Menandro liberto suo tradidit ...* Did Caligula's insanity extend to inconsequential caprice? And if so, does such a pointless expression of it here serve any literary purpose, even though at this point the author is clearly

hastening to a conclusion? For if Gaius had won his case to a claim on Claudius to be his slave, *in seruitutem*, why should he immediately give him to Aeacus?

The text here printed assumes that the reading of S, on which the modern vulgate is based, is a simple case of dittography, and that the correct reading is offered by L (probably the result of emendation in this learned recension: see *C&M* 21 (1960) 35 n. 5 and *C.Q.* n.s. 29 (1979) 155.).

The antecedent of *is* is now *Caesari*. Gaius Caligula can more plausibly be supposed to have had a freedman called Menander – though he is not otherwise known – than can Aeacus. Buecheler's widely accepted suggestion, that Aeacus' Menander (in his text) is the Athenian writer of the New Comedy, is pointless.

adiudicatur, 'he is adjudged, assigned', is followed by a dramatic pause. Who is to be Claudius' legal owner? The word-order of the next sentence is adjusted to give the answer at the emphatic beginning.

ut a cognitionibus esset: *cognitio* 'a judicial inquiry', cf. 10.4 *de causa cognosceres*. This was an essential preliminary for any examining magistrate. But from the very beginning of the principate the princeps seems to have been empowered to act as judge on appeal (Dio 51.19.7 ἐκκλητον ... δικάζειν); he could agree or refuse to try a case by his personal cognizance (*cognoscere*) *extra ordinem*, outside the established procedure of the courts; normally he dealt only with the serious crimes of persons of rank in society, the army, or the imperial service.

The separate office of *libertus a cognitionibus*, whose duties had previously been merged with those of the *libertus a libellis*, seems to have been first instituted by Claudius (*CIL* vi. 8634). It cannot safely be inferred from this passage that such an official existed under Gaius, though he may well have done.

So Claudius' final fate is to be a mere clerical slave, endlessly involved in other people's litigation, as he had been in life, but no longer with the executive power he had then possessed, and under the control of some freedman, as, according to his critics, he always had been.

It was probably as a result of a *cognitio* of Claudius that Seneca had been banished to Corsica, and this form of fictional damnation is Seneca's final revenge.

Weinreich 132f. argues cogently that the position and character of the verse passages give a satisfyingly artistic formal structure, such as one would expect of Seneca, to the satire as we have it. Any notion that it continued beyond its present end, to incorporate other material, connected or not with the title, may safely be abandoned.

APPENDIX: CLAUDIUS AND ROMAN CITIZENSHIP

Apoc. 3.3: constituerat ... omnes Graecos, Gallos, Hispanos, Britannos togatos uidere.

The most usual way in which a grant of Roman citizenship was made *en bloc* occurred at the establishment of a *colonia* or *municipium* with this privilege attached. From the analysis of the evidence available, discussed and listed by Momigliano 64ff., it emerges that during Claudius' reign none such was founded in Greece (Achaia and Macedonia), that in his list 'Gaul figures only in name', that 'Spain does not appear in the list at all', and that in Britain the only colony certainly founded was at Camulodunum (Colchester), with another possibly at Glevum (Gloucester): in these cases military security will have been at least as important as recognition of civic maturity. On the contrary, it was not any of the nations specified by Seneca, but the German frontier and the Balkan provinces which most attracted Claudius' colonizing activities.

There is evidence, however, that in Gaul Claudius took enfranchising action. (1) The chief of the settlements of the Vellavi, at Le Puy, was invested with the status of a *colonia*: *CIL* XIII. 1577 (2) *CIL* v. 5050, from Cles in the Val di Non, confirms the Anauni, Tulliasse and Sinduni in the claim they had made to Roman citizenship believing, or making believe, that they belonged to the *municipium* of Tridentum in Raetia/Gallia Cisalpina. However sound the local reasons for Claudius' decision, it was nevertheless a *de facto* recognition of usurpation of *ciuitas Romana*. (3) *CIL* XIII. 1668, the 'Claudian Tablet' from Lyons, shows *Ciuitatem* ... as the last word of col. 1. It is inferred from this, and from mentions of citizenship in Tacitus' recasting of the speech (*Ann.* 11. (23)–24), that Claudius dealt with the progressive extension of Roman citizenship (including Julius Caesar's grant *en bloc* to the Transpadane Gauls) in the missing part of the tablet, thereby apparently keeping distinct, as Tacitus does not, the different topics of adlection to the senate and extension of the franchise. The consequence of Claudius' censorial decision to adlect was that the senate decreed the right to become Roman senators to (eligible) Aedui. One condition of eligibility was possession of *ciuitas Romana*. This was not granted *en bloc* to any

single ethnic group by the senate during Claudius' principate, however numerous individual grants of citizenship made by that emperor may have been. (4) Some settlements in Gaul, like Forum Claudii, clearly owe their honorific titles to Claudius, but the evidence is rarely, if ever, strong enough to attribute to him specifically the granting of the status of a *colonia*.

Claudius therefore did encourage progressive Romanization in Gaul, and well beyond the limits of the already Romanized Gallia Narbonensis, but did nothing so dramatically sweeping as to be justified by *omnes Gallos*.

Seneca alludes to the Spaniards at *De ben.* 6.19.2 *si princeps ciuitatem dederit omnibus Gallis, si immunitatem Hispanis* . . . Remission of taxes for ten years was granted by Claudius at the same time as citizenship on the founding of a *municipium* at Volubilis (*AE* 1916, 42; 1924, 66) in Mauretania Tingitana, one of the two provinces he made of Mauretania after accepting the *ornamenta triumphalia* for the conclusion of the war there: Dio 60.8.6. *Ciuitas* and *immunitas* could be closely associated and may explain Seneca's train of thought above. But evidence that the Volubilis pattern was followed in Spain is lacking.

As stated above, in the overall distribution of *ciuitas* to *coloniae* and *municipia* by Claudius, Britain figures minimally and Greece not at all.

It is possible that the four nations of *Apoc.* 3.3 were chosen because, in the satirist's view, Claudius had shown some personal liking or favourable propensity towards them. He championed the Greeks out of sentimental philhellenism (Suet. *Cl.* 42.1). His attachment to Gallia Lugdunensis was due to his birth and early years there with his father Drusus, who had been helped by local co-operation, as Claudius himself says in *CIL* XIII. 1668 *ad fin.*: cf. also Sen. *De ben.* 6.19.2f. He had involved himself personally in the conquest of Britain: see 12.3.13ff. and note. The Spaniards may be included by Seneca because Claudius had granted, or intended to grant, tax-exemption to a number of them (see above). They had supplied Rome with a series of distinguished men, starting with Lucius Cornelius Balbus, the first man of non-Roman extraction to become consul (40 B.C.).

It is also possible that the embracing generalization was provoked simply by notorious examples of individuals unworthy, at least in the satirist's view, of having received a grant or confirmation of Roman citizenship. According to Suetonius (*Cl.* 25.3) Claudius had false claim-

ants to Roman citizenship beheaded. According to Dio (60.17.4–7: A.D. 43) he deprived many people of citizenship for disqualifying reasons – including ignorance of Latin – ‘whereas he granted it to others quite indiscriminately, sometimes to individuals, sometimes to whole groups’, and exposed himself to ridicule through the venality with which citizenship could be purchased, for increasingly smaller sums, from himself (cf. 9.4 *uendere ciuitatulas solebat*) or his wife or his freedmen. It would be unwise to discover any rigorously consistent policy on Claudius’ part in this conflicting evidence.

A.N. Sherwin-White (*The Roman Citizenship*² 243–7) advanced the view that since Seneca’s four nations were clearly not given citizenship by Claudius *en bloc*, the allusion must rest on what considerable numbers of representative nationals did in fact receive from him – the *diplomata* granted to auxiliary veterans. But nothing about this either was innovative or sensational or could be so represented.

M.T. Griffin (*C.Q.* n.s. 32 (1982) 417) suggests that Seneca chose his four nations from among those mentioned in Claudius’ speech. This hypothesis is only possible on the assumption that the missing portion of his speech can be authentically reconstituted from Tacitus, and only credible on the assumption that Seneca’s memory selected the inconspicuous (*Balbi ex Hispania* ... Tac. *Ann.* 11.24.8) and the obliquely associated (*CIL* XIII. 1668 *ne ... uidear ... quaeisise iactationem gloriae prolati imperi ultra Oceanum* mentions neither *Britanni* nor *ciuitas*). Claudius’ speech was delivered when Seneca was an exile in Corsica. A verbatim copy may have reached him in some way. *So may garbled hearsay.* (Yet Griffin’s final assessment of Claudius (*op. cit.* 418) rightly gives documentary evidence no more than its proper due.)

Favourable critics believe that Claudius made a coherent and liberal attempt to promote integration and cohesion within the Empire, by means to which Julius Caesar had given great impetus, and which culminated in the granting of citizenship to all free inhabitants of the Empire by the *constitutio Antoniniana* of A.D. 212. This impression is certainly created by a conjunction of the generalizing list of *Apoc.* 3.3 and the panroman vision of the Lyons Tablet, inspired by Claudius’ old mentor Livy (especially the speech of the tribune Canuleius in Livy 4.3–5), with which Claudius justified the admission to the senate of notables from Gallia Comata. But the known facts do not confirm it.

(To stress the indiscriminately inclusive nature of Claudius' supposedly global design, the Ed. Princ. interpolates between *Britannos* and *togatos*: *Sauromatas, et si qui ultra glaciale Boream incolunt barbari* – from Juv. 2.1.)

BIBLIOGRAPHIES

(A) AN ALPHABETICAL LIST OF NAMED CONTRIBUTORS TO THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE WORK

- Baehrens, Emil. *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 189 (1927) 449-63.
- Birt, Th. *De Senecae apocolocyntosi et apotheosi lucubratio*, Ind. Lect. Acad. Marburg., hib. 1888-9, Marburgi 1888.
- Buecheler, F. *Petronii Satirae et Liber Priapeorum: Adiectae sunt Varronis et Senecae Satirae similesque reliquiae*, Berlin 1862; sixth and last edition 1922, revised by W. Heraeus.
- Camden. Cited by Gruter, J. in the *Animadversiones Iani Gruteri* appended to *L. Annaeus Seneca a M. Antonio Mureto correctus et notis illustratus* and published at Heidelberg, 1593.
- Curio, C.S. *L. Annaei Senecae Philosophi etc. Opera quae extant omnia Coeli Secundi Curionis vigilantissima cura castigata etc.* Basileae 1557. (This contains B. Rhenanus' text of the satire and his *Scholia* on it, and annotations by Curio and Hadrianus Junius.)
- Eden, P.T. *The Manuscript Tradition of Seneca's Apocolocyntosis, C.Q.* N.S. 29 (1979) 149-61.
- Faber, N. *L. Annaei Senecae Philosophi et M. Annaei Senecae Rhetoris Opera quae extant omnia . . . curante Nic. Fabro*, Parisiis 1587.
- Friedlaender, L. *Coniectanea in Senecae Sat. Menipp.*, Ind. Lect. Univ. Königsberg, hib. 1873-4, Königsberg 1873.
- Fromond, L. *L. Ann. Senecae Philosophi Opera a Justo Lipsio emendata et scholiis illustrata. Aucta Liberti Fromondi scholiis ad Quaestiones Naturales et Ludum de Morte Claudii Caesaris*, Antverpiae 1632 (Lipsius' third edition).
- Gertz, M.C. *Adnotatiunculae criticae in libellum satiricum qui nunc vulgo inscribitur Apocolocyntosis, Jahrb. f. class. Philologie* 137 (1888) 843-8.
- Gronov, J.F. *L. Annaei Senecae . . . Opera omnia ex ultima I. Lipsii et Io. Fr. Gronovii emendatione et M. Annaei Senecae quae extant . . .*, Lugduni Batav. 1649.
- Gruter, J. *L. Annaeus Seneca a M. Antonio Mureto correctus et notis illustratus. Acced. Animadversiones Iani Gruteri*, Heidelbergae 1593 (reprinted at Heidelberg in 1594 with N. Faber's notes on the *Apoc.*).

- Haase, F. L. *Annaei Senecae Opera quae supersunt recognovit . . . Frid. Haase*, Lipsiae 1852-62 (the first printing of the three-volume Teubner edition with the *Ludus* in vol. III).
- Haupt, M. *Opuscula* II. 281-5, Lipsiae 1876.
- Heinsius, D. *Dissertatio de libello L. Annaei Senecae in Claudium, sive Claudii Apocolocyntosi, et praesertim de inscriptionis causa*; with his *Orationes*, Lugduni Batav. 1620 (and reprinted).
- Heinze, R. 'Zu Senecas Apocolocyntosis', *Hermes* 61 (1926) 49-78.
- Helm, R. Cited in the appendix supplement of W. Heraeus to F. Buecheler's sixth edition (see above).
- Heraeus, W. Supervised the fifth edition of F. Buecheler's text in 1912, and added an appendix supplement to the sixth and last edition in 1922.
- Junius, H. The annotations of Hadrianus Junius are contained in the edition of Curio, C.S. (see above).
- Lipsius, J. L. *Annaei Senecae Philosophi Opera quae exstant omnia a Justo Lipsio emendata*, Antverpiae 1605 (this was the first of Lipsius' four editions, all published at Antwerp; the second appeared in 1615, the third, with Fromond's notes on the *Apoc.* in 1632, the fourth in 1652).
- Maehly, J. *Zur Kritik lateinischer Texte* 24-8, Basel 1886.
- Mariotti, S. The suggestions of Scevola Mariotti were communicated by letter to Russo, C.F. (see his edition 41 n. 1).
- Mueller, C.F.W. Cited in the *apparatus* of the edition of Rossbach, O. (see below).
- Muretus, M.A. L. *Annaei Senecae Opera a M. Antonio Mureto correctata et notis illustrata* was published in 1585 in both Paris and Rome. It was reissued with Gruter's contributions at Heidelberg in 1593.
- Neubur, F.C. *Apokolokyntosis oder des Lucius Annaeus Seneca Spottgedichte oder Satyre über den Tod und die Vergötterung des Kayzers Claudius; verdeutscht und erläutert durch Fr. Chr. Neubur* with Latin text, Leipzig 1729.
- Palmer. Cited by Gertz, M.C. (see above).
- Postgate, J.P. *Classical Review* 19 (1905) 303-4.
- Rhenanus, B. *Ludus L. Annaei Senecae de morte Claudii Caesaris nuper in Germania repertus cum scholiis B. Rhenani*, Basileae 1515, reprinted at Basel in 1517, 1519, 1521, and 1522 and at Paris in 1524. The *Scholia* of B. Rhenanus were included in some later editions, including that of Curio, C.S. (see above).

- Roszbach, O. L. *Annaei Senecae Divi Claudii Apotheosis per saturam quae Apocolocyntosis vulgo dicitur . . . edidit Otto Roszbach*, Bonn 1926.
- Ruhkopf, F.E. L. *Annaei Senecae Philosophi Opera omnia quae supersunt recognovit et illustravit Frid. Ern. Ruhkopf*, Lipsiae 1797-1811 (the *Ludus* is in the second of the five volumes).
- Russo, C.F. L. *Annaei Senecae Divi Claudii ΑΠΟΚΟΛΟΚΥΝΤΩΣΙΣ* a cura di Carlo F. Russo, Firenze 1948. The second, third, fourth and fifth editions appeared respectively in 1955, 1961, 1964 and 1965; the fifth edition was reprinted in 1967 and 1981.
- Scheffer, J. *Notae in L. Annaei Senecae Apocolocyntosin, Lctionum Academicarum Liber* pp. 284ff., Hamburgi 1675. The same in his *Miscellanea* published at Amsterdam in 1698.
- Sonntag, C.G. L. *Annaeus Seneca, Apokolokyntosis, oder Satyre auf Kaiser Claudius Vergötterung, übersetzt und erläutert, C.G. Sonntag*; in *Zur Unterhaltung der Freunde der alten Literatur* 2. Heft 69, Riga 1790.
- Wachsmuth, C. *Zu Senecas Apocolocyntosis*, Leipziger Studien 11 (1889) 337-50.
- Waltz, R. *Sènèque, L'Apocolocyntose du divin Claude* (Budé Text), Paris 1934.
- Watt, W.S. *Hermes* 83 (1955) 496ff.

(B) EDITIONS, COMMENTARIES AND STUDIES OF THE WORK

- Baldwin, B. 'Executions under Claudius: Seneca's *Ludus de morte Claudii*', *Phoenix* 18 (1964) 39-48.
- Ball, A.P. *The Satire of Seneca on the Apotheosis of Claudius* (New York 1902).
- Buecheler, F. 'Eine Satire des Annaeus Seneca', *Symbola philologorum Bonnensium in honorem Friderici Ritschelii collecta* (Leipzig 1864-7) 31-89 = *Kleine Schriften* 1 (Leipzig-Berlin 1915) 439-507.
- Coffey, M. 'Seneca, Apocolocyntosis 1922-1958', *Lustrum* 6 (1961) 239-311.
- 'The Apocolocyntosis of Seneca', *Roman Satire* (London 1976) 165-77.
- Currie, H. MacL. 'The purpose of the *Apocolocyntosis*', *Ant. Cl.* 31 (1962) 91-7.

- Duff, J. Wight. *Roman Satire; its Outlook on Social Life* (Cambridge 1937) 91-6.
- Griffin, M.T. *Seneca, a Philosopher in Politics* (Oxford 1976) 129f. etc.
- Heinze, R. 'Zu Senecas Apocolocyntosis', *Hermes* 61 (1926) 49-78.
- Marti, B.M. 'Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis* and *Octavia*: a diptych', *A.J. Ph.* 73 (1952) 30-1.
- Martin, J.M.K. 'Seneca the satirist', *G&R* 14 (1945) 64-71.
- Münscher, K. 'Senecas Werke, Untersuchungen zur Abfassungszeit und Echtheit', *Philologus Suppl.* 16 (1922) 49ff.
- Reynolds, L.D. (ed.) *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics* (Oxford 1983).
- Sedgwick, W.B. *The Cena Trimalchionis of Petronius together with Seneca's Apocolocyntosis* (Oxford 1925, repr. 1950).
- Todd, F.A. 'Some Cucurbitaceae in Latin literature', *C.Q.* 37 (1943) 101-11.
- Weinreich, O. *Senecas Apocolocyntosis. Die Satire auf Tod/Himmel- und Höllenfahrt des Kaisers Claudius* (Berlin 1923).

(C) CLAUDIUS AND HIS REIGN

- Charlesworth, M.P. 'Gaius and Claudius', *CAH* x esp. 697-701.
'Flaviana: III Divus Claudius', *J.R.S.* 27 (1937) 57-60.
Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Claudius and Nero (Cambridge 1939, repr. 1951).
- Momigliano, A.D. *Claudius: the Emperor and his Achievement* (1st ed. Oxford 1934, 2nd ed. Cambridge 1961).
- Nock, A.D. 'Religious developments from the close of the republic to the reign of Nero', *CAH* x 481-503.
- Ruth, T. De Coursey. *The Problem of Claudius* (diss., Baltimore 1916).
- Scramuzza, V.M. *The Emperor Claudius* (Cambridge, Mass. 1940).
- Smallwood, E.M. *Documents Illustrating the Principates of Gaius, Claudius and Nero* (Cambridge 1967).
- Syme, R. *Tacitus* (Oxford 1958) esp. 436ff.

(D) GENERAL

- Balsdon, J.P.V.D. *Life and Leisure in Ancient Rome* (2nd impr. revised, London 1974).
- Courtney, E. *A Commentary on the Satires of Juvenal* (London 1980).
- Cumont, F. *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism* (New York 1956).
- Dornseiff, F. *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* (Leipzig-Berlin 1922).
- Friedlaender, L. *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms* (9/10th ed., Leipzig 1919-21; English trans. of 7th ed. by Freese, J.H., Gough, A.B. and Magnus, L.A. *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire* London 1908-13, repr. 1965).
- Furneaux, H. *The Annals of Tacitus* (2nd ed. Oxford, vol. 1 1896, vol. 11 1907, revised by Pelham, H.F. and Fisher, C.D.).
- Griffiths, J. Gwyn. *Plutarch De Iside et Osiride* (University of Wales 1970).
- Latte, K. *Römische Religionsgeschichte* (Munich 1960) (*RRG*).
- Löfstedt, E. *Syntactica* (Lund, vol. 1, 2nd ed. 1942; vol. 11, 1st ed. 1933).
- Schulz, F. *Principles of Roman Law* (Oxford 1936).
- Skutsch, O. *Studia Enniana* (London 1968).
- Wissowa, G. *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (2nd ed. Munich 1912) (*RuK?*).
- Woodcock, E.C. *A New Latin Syntax* (London 1959).

INDEXES

References are to section, sub-section, and (where applicable) verse-number, of text and/or commentary

1. Proper names

- Aeacus 14:1, 2, 4; 15:2
 Agatho causicus 12:2
 Alexandria 8:3
 Amphicus libertus 13:5
 Apollo 4:2
 Appian uiae curator 1:2
 Arar 7:2 v. 12
 Arpocras libertus 13:5
 Asinius, Celer 13:5
 Assaracus 11:2
 Athenae 8:3
 Augeae, cloacae 7:5
 Augurinus 3:4
 Augusta, diua 9:5
 Augustus, diuus 1:2; 9:5; 10:1
 Augustus, mensis 7:4
 Aurora 4:1 v. 27
 Autumnus 2:1 v. 5

 Baba 3:4
 Bacchus 2:1 v. 5
 Brigantes 12:3 v. 15
 Britanni 3:3; 12:3 v. 13
 Britannia 8:3

 Caesar: *nomen imperatorum* 5:4
 = *Nero* 4:1 v. 30
 C. Caesar = *Caligula* 11:2; 15:2 *bis*
 Catonius, Iustus praefectus 13:5
 Cerberus 13:3
 Claudius 1:2 *et deinceps*
 Claudius, diuus 9:5 *bis*; 10:4; 11:5
 Claudiana lingua 14:2
 Clotho 3:3
 Cornelia, lex de sicariis 14:1
 Cotta eq. R. 13:4
 Crassus Frugi 11:2 *ter*, 5; 13:5
 Cretaea oppida centum 12:3 v. 26
 Cyllenius 11:6
 Cynthia 2:1 v. 3

 Diespiter 9:4
 Ditis, ianua 13:3
 Drusilla 1:2, 3

 Ἐπικούρειος θεός 8:1

 Faba mimus 9:3
 Fabius eq. R. 13:4
 Febris 6:1, 2

 Gaius (Caesar) 11:2
 Galli 3:3
 Gallus 6:1
 Graece 10:3
 Graeci 3:3
 Graeculus 5:4
 Graecus 5:2

 Heluius, M. eq. R. 13:4
 Hercules 5:3 *bis*; 6:1; 7:1, 4; 9:4, 6
 mehercules 3:3; 8:2
 Hesperus 4:1 v. 26
 Hesperium mare 7:2 v. 7
 Hiems 2:1 v. 4
 Hispani 3:3
 Homericus uersus 5:4 *bis*
 Horatius 13:3

 Ianus pater 9:2
 Inachia urbs 7:2 v. 8
 Iuliae, duae proneptes Augusti 10:4
 Iuliae, kal. 9:2
 Iulius, mensis 7:4
 Iuncus praetorius 13:4
 Iuno 8:2
 Iuppiter 5:2, 3; 8:2; 9:1; 10:4; 11:1
 Ixion 14:3

 Lachesis 4:1 v. 3, 2
 Licinus 6:1

- Lucifer 4:1 v. 25
 Lugudunum 6:1 *bu*
 Lugudunenses 6:1
 Lupus, Cornelius 13:5
 Lusius Saturninus 13:5

 Marcus (Antonius) 6:1 *app.*; 9:5
 Martius, campus 13:1
 Medus fugax 12:3 v. 12
 Menander libertus 15:2
 Mercurius 3:1; 12:1, 13:2
 Messal(l)a Coruinus 10:2
 Messalina 11:1, 5; 13:4
 Metamorphoses Ouidi 9:5
 Mnester pantomimus 13:4
 Munatius (L., Plancus) 6:1
 Myron libertus 13:5

 Narcissus libertus 13:2, 3, 4
 Nero 4:1 v. 30, 2
 Nestor 4:1 v. 14

 Oceanus 12:3 v. 18
 October 1:1; 2:2 *bu*
 Olympus 11:5
 Ouidius 9:5

 Parcae 3:1; 4:1 v. 20
 Parthi 12:3 v. 8
 Persis 12:3 v. 9
 Petronius, P. 14:2
 Pheronaotus libertus 13:5
 Phoebus 2:1 v. 1, 4 v. 1; 4:1
 vv. 15, 21; 7:2 v. 10
 Pierius 4:1 v. 4
 Polybius libertus 13:5
 Pompeius Magnus 11:2 *bu*, 5
 Pompeius, Peto 13:5, 6; 14:2

 Rhodanus 6:1; 7:2 v. 11
 Roma 4:1 v. 30; 6:1 *bis*; 7:3; 8:3

 Romanus 5:2
 populus R. 12:2
 equites R. 13:4; 14:1
 R. securis 12:3 v. 17
 Romulus 9:5
 Romuleis catenis 12:3 v. 16
 Rufius Pollio praefectus 13:5

 Sacra, uia 12:1
 Saturnus 8:2
 Saturnalia 12:2
 Saturnalicius princeps 8:2
 Scribonia 11:2, 5
 Silanus, Appius 11:5
 Silanus, L. (Iunius) 8:2; 10:4; 11:5
 Silius, C. 13:4
 Sisyphus 14:3
 Sisyphium collum 15:1 v. 8
 Sol 4:1 v. 28
 Somnus 2:1 v. 2
 Stoicus deus 8:1 *bu*

 Talthybius deorum 13:1
 Tantalus 14:3
 Tecta, uia 13:1
 Tiberis 13:1
 Tiberius Caesar 1:2
 Tibur 7:4 *app.*
 Tithonus 4:1 v. 14
 Traulus, Sex. eq. R. 13:4
 Trogus eq. R. 13:4

 Varro (M. Terentius) 8:1
 Venus 8:2
 Vettius Valens eq. R. 13:4
 Vica Pota 9:4
 Vienna 6:1
 Vindemitor 2:1 v. 6
 Volcanus 11:1

 Xanthus 6:1

2. Words and phrases

- adesse* 7:4
adsidere 10:3
aduehere 7:2 v. 8

aduocatio 14:2
aduocatus 14:2
aenatores 12:1

agere 1:1
agere animam 2:4
alogiae 7:1
altrix 7:2 v. 14
an 10:4
anapaesti 12:3
arcus 2:1 v. 1
auctoratus 9:3
auricula 9:4
auunculus maior 11:1

bene 5:2
bucca 1:2

capsula 3:4
caput 8:1
caput obuolutum 13:1
causidicus 7:5; 12:2
censere 9:5
centiceps 13:3
certa clara 1:3
cessare 3:1
citius 7:1
dicto citius 13:3
ciuitatulae 9:4
clarius 11:4
Claudianae lingua 14:2
cluere 7:2 v. 1
cognitio; a cognitionibus 15:2
collum obtortum 11:6
concatere 4:3
concupere uerba 1:3
conferre 7:5
cor 8:1
cordatus 12:3 v. 3
curua corrigere 8:3

decollare 6:2
decoris causa 13:4
deferre nomen 14:1
de suo 4:2
detinere 4:1 v. 17
dies: suus 1:1
m. and f. 9:5
diem obire 1:1
di irati 11:3
dimidium lucere 8:3

disertus 14:2
ducere 6:2

ebullire 4:2
Εγγιον γόνυ κνήμης 10:3
educere 7:2, v. 5
esse a(b) 13:2
etiam non = nondum 5:3
εὐλατόν τυχεῖν τινός 8:3
εὐρήκαμεν συγκαίρωμεν 13:4
excidere 5:1; 10:3

Fabam mimum facere 9:3
facere 4:2
fallere laborem 4:1 v. 17
fatuari 7:1
ferre 11:2
ferrum suum in igne esse 9:6
ferrum, mures rodunt 7:1
fritillus 14:4

gallum in suo sterquilino plurimum posse
 7:3
Gallus germanus 6:1
gerere 11:4

honores Autumni 2:1 vv. 4-5
hora 3:2
horologia 2:2

iam 2:1
imponere 6:1
incipere uelle respondere 14:2
intentus 4:1 v. 17
ita uera 1:1
iurator 1:2

laruae 9:3
laturam facere 14:3
liber 1:1

manum inicere 13:1
manus manum lauat 9:6
manus plena 4:2
mapalia facere 9:1
mentis suae non esse 7:3
meta: mendacia 6:1

mera (cont.)

mapalia 9:1

miseriae 7:5

missio 14:4

μωρός *diuus Claudius* 7:3; 8:3

mures: *ferrum rodunt* 7:1

molae lingunt 8:3

muscam excitare 10:3

natum putare 3:2

nenia 12:3

nomen reddere 11:2

nolarius 9:2

notor 7:4

nugae 7:3

nummulariolus 9:4

οὐμν οὐο (*simile*) 11:5

πάντα φίλων πλήρη 13:6

pater 9:2

penes auctorem fides 5:1

perpetuarius 6:1

persequi 11:2

pes dexter 5:2

pedibus ire 11:6

philologus 5:4

postmeridianus consul 9:2

postulare 14:1

primus 4:1 v. 29

profatus 7:2 v. 4

qualiscumque 9:1

qui(s) 7:4; 9:5

recipere 6:1

recipere nomen 14:1

regem aut fatuum nasci oportere 1:1

remissus 4:1 v. 31

res, mea agitur 9:6

respondere 11:4

saeculum felicissimum 1:1

Saturnalia, non semper erunt 12:2

Saturnalicus 8:2

sellas, tibi hic ostendam 13:6

sententiam: interrogari 9:2

uncere 9:6

seruum ducere 11:3

stulle, stude 8:3

subducere fundum (fritilli) 15:1 v. 2

subscriptio 14:1

sufflaminare 14:3

summa rei 11:4

ad summam 11:3

tria uerba cito dicere 11:3

uti (ut) 9:5

uacatio 11:5

uae me 4:3

uasfer 6:1; 9:2

uelit nolit 1:2

uelle sibi 12:1

uerbum facere 1:3

uidere 5:3

uideris 10:4

3. General

ablative: of duration 6:1; local 10:1

accusative: (and infinitive) of exclamation 4:3; 8:2; internal limiting 9:6; of respect 12:3 v. 15; retained 9:2

Acilius Auiola 1:1

adjectives, Greek and Latin equivalents juxtaposed 12:3

adverbs: comparative 7:1; intensive 5:2

Aeacus 14:1, 2

Aemilia Lepida 8:2

Agatho, barrister 12:2

Agrippina 8:2; 13:2

alliteration 4:1 vv. 3-4; 6:1; 7:3; 8:3; 9:1; 9:3; 12:3

Allobroges 6:1

alphabetic joke 3:4

amici Caesaris 13:5

Amphoeus 13:5

- anapaests 12:3
 Antonia, mother of Claudius 1:1;
 9:5
 Antonia, daughter of Claudius 11:2,
 5
 Apis 13:4
 ἀπό κοινοῦ 4:1 vv. 17, 25-6
 Apollo 4:1 vv. 4, 15, 18, 22-3
 aposiopesis 10:2
 apotheosis 9:5
 archaism 9:5 *bis*; 11:2
 Armenia 12:3 vv. 7-8
 Arpocras 13:5
 ascension 1:2 *bis*
 Asinius Celer, Sex. 13:5
 Asinius Gallus 5:4; 13:5
 Asinius Marcellus 1:1
 Assaracus 11:2
 astrologers 3:2; astrology 1:1; 2:2, 3
 auditor(s), imaginary 1:2
 Augeas 7:5
 Augurinus 3:4
 Augustus 10:1, 2, 4; 11:4 *bis*

 Baba 3:4
 barristers: fees 12:2; venality 12:3
 v. 28
 Basilique Notre Dame de Fourvière
 7:2 v. 9
 'Bean' farce 9:3
 Boudicca 8:3
 bowdlerization 4:3
 brass bands 12:1
 Brigantes 12:3 v. 15
 Britain, invasion and conquest 12:3
 v. 13 and 15; Appendix
 Britannicus 4:3

 Caesar, Julius 9:2, 5; Appendix
 Cartimandua 12:3 v. 15
 Catonius, Iustus 13:5
 Celeres 12:3 v. 7.
 census 3:3
 Cerberus 13:3
 Cerialis, Petilius 12:3 v. 15
 citizenship, Roman 9:4; Appendix
 Claudius: absent-minded 8:1, 3;
 11:1; 13:6; ailments 3:2; 5:2 *bis*;
 6:1, 2; 7:2 v. 5; alphabetically
 third 3:4; antiquarian 9:4; birth
 3:1, 2; 6:1; 7:2 v. 5; Appendix;
 censor 3:3; conquest of Britain
 12:3 v. 13 and 15; deafness 12:1;
 death 1:1; 2:2, 4; 3:2; 4:2, 3 *bis*;
 6:1; *deus* 13:4; *diuus* 9:5; divine
 honours 1:1; Eastern policy 12:3
 vv. 7-8; funeral 1:1; 12:1; 13:1;
 gambler 10:3; 12:3 vv. 30-1;
 14:4; glutton 8:2; gourd 4:2;
 Greek-speaking 5:4; 14:2; ill-
 treated, by barristers 7:5; by
 Gaius 15:2; *imperator* 12:3 v. 6;
 insensible 8:3; 11:1; irascible
 6:2; *laudatio funebris* 9:5; 12:1;
 legal activities 4:1 v. 24; 7:4, 5;
 10:4; 11:5; 12:2 *bis*; 12:3 v. 21;
 limping 1:2; 5:2; 12:3 v. 6; li-
 terary output 5:4; literary style
 7:5; 8:1; Ludi Saeculares 13:1;
 moron 7:3; 8:1, 3; nonentity 4:2;
 oriental cults 13:4; patron of poets
 12:3 v. 29; philhellene Appendix;
 physique 5:2; *rex* 1:1 *bis*; 3:2;
 Roman citizenship 9:4; Appendix;
 sadistic 9:3; somnolent 12:1;
 speech-defect 4:3; 5:2; 6:2; 7:2 v.
 4, 4; 11:3; 14:2; subservient 6:2;
 8:1; 13:5; triumph, Britannic 3:4;
 wise 9:5; worshipped in Britain
 8:3
 Clotho 3:1
 Colchester 8:3; Appendix
 colloquialism 1:2 *bis*; 3:2, 4 v. 1;
 3:3; 5:2, 4; 6:1; 7:1, 3; 8:2; 9:4;
 11:3 *bis*; 12:1
 colloquial style 1:3; 3:3; 5:4; 6:1;
 7:3, 4; 10:1, 3, 4; 15:2
 conditional, mixed 6:1
 consuls, elected or appointed 9:2
 Cornelius Balbus, L. Appendix
 Cotta 13:4
 council of gods 1:1; 8:1; 9:6; 11:3
 Crassus Frugi, M. Licinius 11:2 *ter*,
 5; 13:5

- curatores* 1:2
 Cynthia 2:1 v. 3

 Danaids 14:4
 dative: ethic 7:4; of interest 4:3; of purpose 10:1
 deification 1:2 (Drusilla); 4:1 vv. 22-3; 9:5 (Livia)
deportatio 7:1; 14:3
 dicing 10:3 *bis*; 12:3 vv. 30-1; 14:4, 15:1 vv. 2-3
 Diespiter 9:4
 diminutives 3:3, 4; 5:4; 9:4 *ter*
 dirge 12:3
 dittography 5:2; 7:5; 15:2
 Domitia Lepida 11:5; 13:5
 Drusus, Nero Claudius 9:5;
 Appendix

 ear-lobe, recollective 9:4
 ecphrasis 7:1
 Editio Princeps, cited 1:1; 4:3; 11:1, 2; 12:3 v. 21; 13:2, 3, 5; 14:2;
 Appendix
 ellipse 1:1; 7:1; 10:4; 11:4, 6; 14:2
 emperor worship, *see* ruler cult
 Epicurus 8:1
et: adversative 10:1; = *et insuper* 11:2; explanatory 5:3; in ordinal numerals 3:1

 Fabius 13:4
 farts, personified 4:3
 Fates 3:1; 4:1 vv. 1-4, 1 v. 18
 Febris = Fever 6:1, 2
 flatulence 4:3

 Gaius (Caligula) 11:2; 13:4; 15:2
 Gallia: Cisalpina 6:1; Appendix;
 Comata 6:1; Appendix;
 Lugdunensis 6:1; Appendix;
 Narbonensis 6:1; Appendix
 Gauls, capture Rome 6:1
 Gemin(i)us, Livius 1:2, 3
 genitive: of charge 8:2; of description 7:3; objective 11:5
 gladiatorial recruits 9:3

 gloss, intrusive 6:1; 8:3; 9:3; 10:3; 12:3; 13:1
 gods, philosophical ideas of 8:1 *bis*
 Golden Age 1:1; 4:1 v. 9, 1 v. 12, 1 vv. 23-4
 grape harvest(er) 2:1 v. 6
 Grecism 7:1, 2 v. 1
 Greek, used by Romans 5:4
 Gyarus 7:1

 Hansard, Roman 9:2
 Helvius, M. 13:4
 Hercules 3:3; 5:3 *bis*; 6:1 *bis*; 7:1, 3, 5; 8:2; 9:6
Hercules Furens 5:3; 12:3
 Hesperus 4:1 vv. 25-6
 hexameters 4:1
 historiography 1:1; 5:1; 9:2
 homoeoarcton 6:1; 9:1
 homoeoteleuton 9:1
 horoscope 3:2
 hypallage 2:4 v. 2

 iambic senarii 7:1; 11:2
 imperative: future 1:2; negative 4:1 v. 20
 Inachus 7:2 v. 8
 indicative, for subjunctive 6:1
 indictment 14:1
 interpolation 12:3 v. 1 *and see* gloss, intrusive
 Isis cult 13:4
 Iuncus Vergilianus 13:4
 Iunia Caluina 8:2 *bis*
 Iunia Claudii(II)a 11:2
 Iunia Silana 13:4
 Ixion 14:3

 Janus 9:2 *ter*
 judicial: power of princeps 15:2; procedure 14:1, 2; procedure in underworld 14:1
 Julia, daughter of Agrippa 8:2
 Julia, daughter of Augustus 8:2
 Julia, daughter of Drusus 10:4; 13:5
 Julia, daughter of Germanicus 10:4; 13:5

Lachesis 4:1 vv. 3-4
 lacuna, content of 8:1; 9:1
 language, everyday, *see* colloquialism
 law terms and vacations 7:4; 11:5
 laws 4:1 v. 24; 12:2
 lawyers, superfluous 12:2
lex: *Cincia* 12:2; 13:4; *Cornelia* 14:1;
 talionis 14:2
 Licin(i)us, *nouveau riche* 6:1
 Livia 9:5
 longevity 4:1 v. 14; of princeps 4:1
 v. 21
 Lucifer 4:1 vv. 25-6
 Lupus, Cornelius 13:5
 Lusius Saturninus 13:5
 Lyons 6:1 *bis*
 Lyons Tablet (*CIL* XIII 1668) 6:1;
 7:5; 9:2; 12:3 v. 13; Appendix

 Magnus, Pompeius 11:2 *bis*; 13:5
 malefactors, mythical 14:3
 Marcus Antonius 6:1; 9:5
 marriage, of kin 8:3
 Mauretania Appendix
 Meditrinalia 2:1 v. 6
 Menander 15:2
 Menippean motif 2:2 *bis*; 5:4; 7:1;
 8:1; 9:1; 10:1; 11:3, 6; 12:1;
 13:5; 14:4
 Mercury 3:1; 5:2; 11:6; 12:1;
 13:1
 Messal(i)a Corvinus, M. Valerius
 10:2
 Messalina 10:4; 11:1 *bis*, 2, 5; 13:4
 passim, 5
 mice: gnaw iron 7:1; lick millstones
 8:3
mimus 9:3
 Minos 12:3 vv. 25-6; 14:1
Misanthrope 13:6
 Mnester 13:4
 Munatius Plancus, L. 6:1
 Myron 13:5

 Narcissus 11:1, 5; 13:2, 4
 neologisms 6:1(?); 8:2; 9:2, 4 *bis*;
 14:3

Nero 4:1 v. 4, 1 v. 9, 1 vv. 22-3, 1 v.
 24; 8:2; 12:2
 Nero, Ti. Claudius 9:5
neuter, trisyllabic 12:3 v. 22

 oath-formula 1:3
 Octavia, daughter of Claudius 8:2
 Octavia, sister of Augustus 9:5;
 10:3; 11:1
 Osiris 13:4
 Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 8:1; 9:5

 parataxis 2:4; 5:4
 parenthesis 2:2; 3:3; 4:3; 5:4; 8:2;
 13:4
 parody: of Claudius' style 7:5; of
 historians' professions 1:1-3; 5:1;
 of poets' periphrases 2:1-4; of
 quotations 1:2; 3:2; 4:2; 7:3; 8:3
 bis; 9:2; 11:6; 13:4, 6; of tragic
 style 7:1
 Parthia 12:3 vv. 7-8
 periphrasis 2:1, 3, 4 v. 1
 personification 2:1 v. 2; 4:3
 Petronius, P. 14:2
 Pheronaeus 13:5
philologi 5:4
 Piso, L. Calpurnius 11:2
 Plautius, Aulus 12:3 v. 13
 poetasters 2:1, 3; 12:3 v. 29
 Polybius 13:4, 5
 Pompeius, P. 13:5
 Pompeius Rufus 13:5
 Porticus Maximae 13:1
praefectus urbi 10:2
 pronouns, colloquially emphatic 6:1;
 7:4
 prosecution, procedure for 14:1
 proverbs 1:1; 3:2; 7:1, 3; 8:3 *bis*;
 9:6 *bis*; 10:3 *ter*; 11:5; 12:2; 13:2
 pseudohistory 1:1, 2
 puns, *see* word-play

quaestio perpetua 14:1
 quotation: adapted to context 5:4;
 14:2; capped 5:4; misapplied 1:2;
 11:6; misquoted 5:4

quotations of authors: Catullus

3.11-12: 11:6; Ennius sc. fr. 244: 8:3; Euripides fr. 449 v. 4: 4:2; Hesiod, *Meg. Epya* fr. 286: 14:2; Homer, *Il.* 1.591: 11:1; *Il.* 3.109: 9:2; *Il.* 6.142: 9:3; *Il.* 8.486: 9:3; *Il.* 9.385: 14:1; *Od.* 1.170: 5:4; *Od.* 9.39-40: 5:4; Horace, *C.* 2.13.34: 13:3; Lucilius fr. 1357: 9:5; Varro, *Men. fr.* 583: 8:1; Virgil, *Aen.* 2.723f.: 1:2; *Aen.* 6.127: 13:3; *Georg.* 4.90: 3:2

repetition, close 2:1 v. 4; 4:1 v. 1; 15:2

Res Gestae 10:2

Rhadamanthus 14:1, 4

rhetorical ornament 12:3

Rhône 6:1; 7:2 v. 9

Romulus 9:5 *bis*

Rufius Pollio 13:5

ruler cult 1:1; 4:1 v. 21, 1 vv. 22-3, 1 vv. 25-6; 8:2, 3; 9:5; 13:4

Saône 7:2 v. 9

satire: dialogue style 1:2; colloquial tone 1:3

Saturnalia 8:2

Scapula, P. Ostorius 12:3 v. 15

Scribonia 11:2 *bis*; 13:5

Scribonianus, son of Scribonia 11:2

Scribonianus, Furius Camillus 12:3 v. 13

senate: decrees 9:3, 4, 5; 11:4;

procedure 1:1; 9:1 *bis*, 2, 6; 11:6

Seneca, as tragedian 7:1; 12:3

sermo cotidianus *see* colloquialism, colloquial style

sermo vulgaris (and *plebeius*) 1:3; 4:2; 7:1; 8:2; 9:1, 3 *bis*, 4; 14:2, 3

shorthand 9:2

Silanus, C. Appius Iunius 11:2, 5; 13:5

Silanus, L. Iunius 8:2 *bis*; 10:4; 11:2; 13:5

Silanus, M. Iunius C. f. 11:2

Silanus, M. Iunius M. f. 8:2

Silius, C. 13:4

Sisyphus 14:3

slaves 1:1; 9:3; 11:1

Spaniards Appendix

spinning 4:1 vv. 1-2, 1 vv. 10-11

spooks 9:3

Statilius Corvinus 13:5

Stoicism 5:3; 8:1

subjunctive: after *antequam* 10:4; sub-
oblique 1:3; 8:2

Suilius, P. 13:5

sundial 2:2

synapheia 12:3 v. 12

synecdoche 2:4 v. 2

Talthybius 13:1

Tantalus 14:3

Tarentum 13:1

tautology 4:1 vv. 3-4; 9:3; 12:1, 3

tense: future: expectant 2:2; im-
perative 1:2; periphrastic 1:1;
10:4; inconcinnity of 12:1; per-
fect: instantaneous 4:1 v. 7; pre-
sent: for future 2:2

Thales 13:6

Tiberius 1:2; 9:5

Tibur 7:4

time, 'during' and 'within' which 6:1

Tityus 14:3

toga 3:3

Traulus Montanus, Sex. 13:4

Trogus, Sauzeius 13:4

Trojan ancestry 5:4

Varro 7:5; 8:1

verse: word-patterns 4:1 v. 2, 1 v. 9

Vettius Valens 13:4

uia Sacra 12:1

uia Tecta 13:1

Vica Pota 9:4

Vienne 6:1

Vindemitor 2:1 v. 6

Vitellius 8:2

Volubilis Appendix

water-clock 2:2

woad 12:3 v. 15

word-play 2:1 v. 5; 6:1; 7:3 *bis*; 8:3; Xanthus 6:1
11:2
words, famous last 4:3 zeugma 5:3

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA (2001)

INTRODUCTION

p. 6 n. 12 Seneca was *Hispaniensis* (by domicile) not *Huspanus* (by blood).
p. 8 The mushroom and the poison. According to Pliny *N.H.* 22.92–6 *boleti* were richly nourishing ‘*sed immenso exemplo in crimen adductos*’; allegedly they sucked up poison from rusty bootnails; Annaeus Serenus, a much loved younger friend of Seneca and dedicatee of some of his philosophical essays, died from eating a naturally poisonous mushroom c. A.D. 62. Seneca alludes to the lethal potential of the *boletatio* (*Epp.* 77.18) and describes *boleti* as *uoluptarium uenenum* (*Epp.* 95.25). Claudius too may have died by ‘misadventure’. See further G. Bagnani, ‘The case of the poisoned mushrooms’, *Phoenix* 1 (1946), 15–20; A.R.H. Buller, ‘The fungus lore of the Greeks and Romans’, *Trans. Brit. Mycological Soc.* 5 (1915), 21–66; A.A. Imholz, ‘Fungi and place names: the origin of *boletus*’, *A.J.L.* 98 (1977), 71–6. Veronika Grimm-Samuel, ‘On the mushroom that deified the Emperor Claudius’, *C.Q.* 41 (1991), 178–82, convincingly identifies the fatal mushroom as the *Amanita phalloides*, ingested by Claudius at an unshared meal.

COMMENTARY

1.1 anno nouo: some inscriptions use the year of an emperor’s reign as one or the sole means of dating (*ILS* 8899 *anno III C. Caesaris*; *ILS* 8759a *anno XI Neronis imp. n(ostri)*), and with *anno nouo* Seneca may be thinking of the motion of the senate (*Tac. Ann.* 13.10.2) at the end of A.D. 54 ‘that the beginning of the year should start in December, when Nero had been born’ – actually on 15 December A.D. 37 – a couple of days before the beginning of the Saturnalia. This would support December A.D. 54 as the date of production of the work (cf. Intro., p. 5).

1.2 Tiberius however did not suffer any official *damnatio memoriae*; his name was simply omitted from the list of emperors in oaths and prayers (*Dio* 60.4.6).

2.1.6 serus uindemitor: *serus* = ‘too late’ sc. to take part in the *uindemia*. These late-picked grapes would probably be preserved for dessert (cf. *Martial* 1.43.3f., 3.58.8f.).

2.2 puto magis intellegi<s> si dixero: parenthetic *puto* in first position in its clause occurs quite frequently in Seneca: cf. especially *De tranq.* 7.2 *puto intellegis multo minus ad eos iturum qui cum amicorum officiis paria mensa faciunt etc.*

3.2 horam: cf. *De prou.* 5.7 *fata nos ducunt et quantum cuique temporis restat prima nascentium hora disposuit.*

dede ... aula: what Seneca expected of Nero as the new 'king' bee is made clear at *De clem.* 1.19.2f. *praeterea insignis regi forma est dissimilisque ceteris cum magnitudine tum nitore ... rex ipse sine aculeo est.*

3.4 Augurinus is however attested as a real name at Pliny *Epp.* 4.27.1 and elsewhere.

4.1.22-3 ille ... minor: this is heady flattery for a teenager whose voice was 'weak and husky' (Suet. *Nero* 20.1) – and 'not so pleasant as Britannicus' (Suet. *Nero* 33.2). In A.D. 54 it could only have come from a member of the court circle who knew of Nero's habits and aspirations, for by then he had not even given one of his semi-private performances (Tac. *Ann.* 14.15.1 and 15.33.1) and knew that he needed tuition and training (Suet. *Nero* 20.1). Moreover it was not until after the murder of Agrippina in A.D. 59 that Nero felt free to give full rein to his passion for singing (and charioteering) (Tac. *Ann.* 14.13.3–14.1) and that *caelestis uox* started to become the official designation of Nero's voice (Tac. *Ann.* 14.15.9, 16.22.1; Suet. *Nero* 21.1). Ironically enough, Seneca's hyperbolic praise was reflected in public propaganda by the minting of coins showing Nero's head on the obverse and Apollo Citharoedus on the reverse (Suet. *Nero* 25.3 and *BMC Imp.* 1 250 no. 257), dated to A.D. 64–6 when Nero compelled Seneca to commit suicide.

The assimilation Nero–Apollo–Helios in the imperial cult (*IG* II/III² 3278; *IGRR* III 345) may have started from Rhodes (cf. Antiphilus *Anth. Pal.* 9.178), whose *libertas* was restored to it by Nero's patronage in A.D. 53 (Tac. *Ann.* 12.58.2).

4.1.31 remisso: in connection with *clementia* cf. *De ira* 2.13.2 *quid clementia remissius, quid crudelitate negotiosius?*; *De clem.* 1.24.1 *remissius imperanti melius paretur.*

4.2 me ... timere: *aestimare*, the editor's suggestion, could here be used in its absolute sense 'to appraise, take the measure of': cf. *De tranq.* 17.1 *nec umquam cura soluimur, ubi totiens nos aestimari putamus quotiens aspici;* Martial 4.64.11f. *Hinc septem dominos uidere montis|et totam licet aestimare Romam.*

5.3 Herculem: a date of composition for the *Hercules Furens* before the beginning of Nero's reign is suggested by *H.F.* 172–4 *hic clamosi rabiosa fori|iurgia uendens|improbis iras et uerba locat*, lines which were robbed of their sting by the legislation regulating barristers' conduct in the first year of Nero's reign (cf. 12.2n).

5.4 aequae Homericus: on knowledge and use of Homer in Roman society, see A. Wardman, *Rome's Debt to Greece* (London 1976) 48ff., 61ff.

6.1 (and 3.1) Febris: J. Mottershead, *Suetonius: Claudius* (Bristol 1986) 120f. and 145ff., convincingly argues that the 'various and persistent ailments' afflicting Claudius (Suet. *Cl.* 2.1) were not separate diseases but different symptoms of the type of brain damage which results in cerebral palsy, almost certainly of the spastic variety. Both the physical and the psychological peculiarities of this condition include those ascribed to Claudius in the *Apoc.* (see Index 3 s.v. Claudius: ailments, deafness, limping, speech-defect; absent-minded, insensible, irascible, moron). Some of the symptoms may have suggested those of a chronic victim of malarial fever (which Claudius may also have been in fact).

7.4 totis diebus mense Iulio et Augusto: Claudius' reform of the legal calendar seems to have done away with the summer recess, so that everyone engaged in judicial business sweltered on at it – including the emperor himself: see J. Mottershead on Suet. *Cl.* 23.1.

7.5 quantum ... cum ... in quod si ... licet: the same characteristics of style appear in Claudius' Greek rescripts, cf. *P. Lond.* 1912 (Claudius' letter to the Alexandrians) col. IV, 73f. and 79–82. It seems that his turns of phrase were faithfully reproduced by his secretary *ab epistulis Graecis* (?Gaius Stertinius Xenophon, *IGRR* IV 1086 from Cos).

8.1 nec cor nec caput: cf. Martial 6.64.16ff. and 14.219.1f. for similar play on the literal and metaphorical meanings of *cor*. For the sceptic's reaction to the 'absurd tenets' of the Stoics see *De const. sap.* 3.1f.

8.2 illum deum <induci> etc.: for omission of the interrogative particle, and for *induci* = 'to be foisted on', cf. Tac. *Ann.* 14.61.5 *malle populum Romanum tibicinis Aegyptii subolem imperatorio fastigio induci?*

Silanum: if Vitellius' censorship ran from 1 July A.D. 47 to 31 December A.D. 48, as seems likely according to J. Mottershead on Suet. *Cl.* 16.1, he *was* still in office when he struck Silanus off the senatorial roll.

8.3 inquit ... inquis: *inquit* occurs frequently in Seneca's *Epistulae* (e.g. at *Epp.* 66.40) with no definite subject, 'some objector' being understood – a usage deriving from φησὶ in Greek diatribes – and the same may be true of *inquis* at *Epp.* 66.52. In the present context, however, the subject of both is best taken as Hercules (cf. 8.2n.).

Athenis ... totum: for Athenian regulations against the marriage of uterine siblings, see Dem. 57.20 and A.R.W. Harrison, *The Law of Athens* I: *The Family and Property* (Oxford 1968) 22f. The formal honorific style regularly described a Ptolemy and his consort as brother and sister even when there was no such relationship by blood.

quid in cubiculo suo faciat nesci[o]et: Tac. *Ann.* 11.2.1 records the trial of Valerius Asiaticus by Claudius *intra cubiculum*, and it is more than likely that Lusius Saturninus, Cornelius Lupus, Pompeius Pedo, Asinius Celer and perhaps M. Licinius Crassus Frugi were also condemned by cubicular jurisdiction (Griffin 109).

templum ... colunt: in the first year of his reign Claudius refused the Alexandrians' offer of a high priest and temples in his honour (*P. Lond.* 1912 col. III 48ff.), judging that such things should be reserved for the gods alone; likewise in A.D. 42 he declined the offer of a temple on Thasos (C. Dunant and J. Pouilloux, *Recherches sur l'Histoire et les Cultes de Thasos* II (1958) 66–9 no. 179). He is most unlikely to have relaxed his attitude later as regards the western provinces, so the Colchester temple, *diuo Claudio constitutum* (Tac. *Ann.* 14.31.6), must have been so decreed after his consecration and been very recent news indeed in December A.D. 54.

9.2 homo ... ὀπίσσω: 'backwards [into the future]': cf. Sen. *Cons. Polyb.* 4.3 *et respicientes quantum a tergo* ('in the future') *rerum tristium immineat*; Shakespeare *Macbeth*, Act I Sc. 3: 'Glamis, and Thane of Cawdor: | The greatest (viz. 'king hereafter') is behind'.

is multa diserte, quod in foro uiu<eb>at, dixit: the same humorous claim is later made for Marsyas (*causidicus*) by Martial 2.64.8, and for Apollo (*iuris peritus*) by Juvenal 1.128, because their statues stood in the Forum.

notarius ... persequi non potuit: perhaps because this stenographer had not learned the fully developed, and so fastest, system of shorthand – devised by Seneca himself (cf. Sen. *Epp.* 90.25 and W.C. Summers' note *ad loc.*).

9.3 Fabam mimum: Seneca's own low opinion of the mime emerges from his judgment on Publilius Syrus at *De tranq.* 11.8 and *Cons. Marc.* 9.5.

laruis: Professor M.D. Reeve, in a letter of 8 March 1984, compares Petronius *Sat.* 44.5, taking *laruae* to be slang – 'the bogies' – for law-enforcing magistrates.

9.4 auriculam illi tetigit: cf. [Virg.] *Copa* 38 *Mors aurem uellens 'uiuile ait, uenio*; Sen. *De vita beata* 10.3 *haec omnia uirtus discutit et aurem peruellit et uoluptates aestimat etc.*

10.1 tunc diuus Augustus: some qualities of Augustus' style – plain speaking in plain words arranged in simple orderliness – are reproduced in Seneca's prosopopoeia of him at *De clem.* 1.9.4–5, 7–11.

The strength of Seneca's feeling about Claudius as 'an arbitrary judicial murderer' probably explains why the *De clementia* emphasises the exercise of this virtue in the context of criminal justice (cf. Griffin 150).

et non possum amplius dissimulare: adversative *et* (= *et tamen*) occurs at Sen. *De const. sap.* 11.2 *et nihil horum contumeliam dicimus* and at Cons. Marc. 13.2 fin. *et peractis quae mos erat praestare defunctis* (*sed* Gertz).

10.4 sub meo nomine latens: Claudius was the first *princeps* to take the imperial cognomen 'Caesar' without ever having been adopted into the imperial family (cf. Furneaux I 173).

(fin.) hoc ubi fieri solet: perhaps an allusion to the episode related at Suet. *Cl.* 15.3: *alius gratias agens quod reum defendi pateretur, adiecit 'et tamen fieri solet'*.

11.2 in una domo Crassum, Magnum: the career of the former is detailed on *ILS* 954, that of the latter, with his relationship to Claudius, on *ILS* 955.

11.6 pedibus ... itum est: cf. Apuleius *Met.* 2.7 *et, quod aiunt, pedibus in sententiam meam uado*, 'and, as the saying goes, I voted with my feet'.

(fin.): puncta transponentia occur in the *codex Ambrosianus* at Sen. *De vita beata* 24.5 *quod audi* (= *audi quod*).

12.2 tamquam liber: cf. Suet. *Nero* 57.1 *obiit* (sc. Nero) ... *tantumque gaudium publice praebuit* (cf. *Apoc.* 5.1), *ut plebs pilleata* (wearing liberty-caps) *tota urbe discurrere*.

sed plane ex animo: for the importance to a pleader of being able to feign emotions cf. Sen. *De ira* 2.17.1.

12.3.1 edite planctus: on the criteria for the colometry of anapaests see Otto Zwierlein, *L. Annaei Senecae Tragoediae* (OCT 1986) praef. vi–vii.

The meaning of *ingere* at e.g. Sen. *De tranq.* 15.5 *frontem suamingere*, 'pull a long face', makes Rhenanus' *ingere luctus* inappropriate.

12.3.6–7 ille ... ille: in A.D. 41 (Dio 60.8.7) Sulpicius Galba and Publius Gabinius achieved victories over the Chatti and Cauchi, respectively, for which Claudius took the title *imperator*, and 'his' achievement was publicised in the coinage (*BMC Imp.* I 164 no. 2).

Claudius received the title *imperator* twenty-seven times (cf. *imperator XXVII* in *ILS* 218 of A.D. 52–3), including the proclamation at his succession.

12.3.11 uulnere paruo: contemptuous, cf. Sen. *De breu.* 10.1 *nec minutis uulneribus* ('pinprick wounds') *sed incursu auertendam aciem*.

12.3.13 Britannos: the invasion of Britain was the most spectacular event of Claudius' reign not only because it entailed crossing 'Ocean', but also because it was the first significant departure from Augustus' prescription that 'the empire should be kept within its limits' (Tac. *Ann.* 1.11.7). Claudius received credit for the operation not only during his lifetime with triumphal arches (at Rome *ILS* 216; at Cyzicus *ILS* 217) but

also after his death with commemorative coinage (*BMC Imp.* I 200 no. 4) and the temple at Colchester.

One sign of the seriousness of the threat posed to Claudius by M. Furius Camillus Scribonianus is that on an inscription of A.D. 32, the year of his consulship, which refers to the recently executed Sejanus as *hostis perniciosissimus p. R.*, his name has been erased (*ILS* 157).

12.3.15 caeruleos scuta: for an accusative of respect (not of part of the body) with an adjective (not a participle) cf. Statius *Theb.* 7.279 (*Amphion*) ... *lyra galeam tauroque insignis auilo*.

12.3.21-2 una ... neutra: in a speech to the senate (*BGU* 611) Claudius claimed to have tried to find remedies against some legal abuses, especially delaying tactics employed by malicious prosecutors.

13.1 inter Tiberim et uiam Tectam: more than one thoroughfare in Rome was called 'The Arcade'; the *uia Tecta* of Ovid *Fasti* 6.191f. seems to have been alongside the Appian Way.

13.4 C. Silius was later used by Juvenal 10.329ff. as the outstanding example of the deadly dangers of beauty. His provocative public behaviour with Messalina – as much the sign of over-confidence as exhibitionism – should not obscure the extreme seriousness of their plot to supplant Claudius, the amount of support for it and its likelihood of success: cf. Suet. *Cl.* 26.2 and 36.1 with J. Mottershead's comments.

13.5 amici ... consulares: on the emperor's *amici* see J. Crook, *Consilium Principis* (Cambridge 1955); on Claudius' tendency to condemn his *amici* to death cf. Suet. *Cl.* 39.1.

14.2 P. Petronius: his intimacy with Claudius must have arisen from his close connections with the *gens Vitellia* and perhaps from a shared passion for dicing – his daughter was the wife of the future emperor Vitellius who was *Claudio per aleae studium familiaris* (Suet. *Vit.* 4).

14.3 Si<syph>um: at Sen. *Epp.* 24.18 the group is Ixion, Sisyphus and Tityus, with the last not named but described: *nec ullius uiscera et renasci posse cotidie et carpi*.

14.4 non placuit ... dari: *ueteranus* is however used metaphorically = 'hardened sinner' at Sen. *Epp.* 25.2.

fritillo: the dice-box was naturally much in evidence at the Saturnalia, the only time when dicing was legally permitted, cf. Martial 11.6.2.

15.2 adiudicator ... donat: Menander seems unattested as a freedman of Gaius, as also does the office of *libertus a cognitionibus* under that emperor.

But Claudius' freedman secretary *a studius*, Ti. Claudius Lemnius, is known only from *ILS* 1682, and his slave *ab epistulis*, Aphnius, from Gordon 122.

ut a cognitionibus esset: the senate had proposed the death penalty for Seneca (*Cons. Polyb.* 13.2) because a woman of the imperial house was implicated. Claudius, presumably after 'cognizance', had the penalty changed to *relegatio*, probably the result of a strict interpretation on his part of the *lex Iulia de adulteriis*, possibly through the intercession of Agrippina (cf. Griffin 60).

APPENDIX

p. 154: on Claudius' familiarity with Livy's first pentad see D.M. Last and R.M. Ogilvie, 'Claudius and Livy', *Latomus* 17 (1958) 476–87.

BIBLIOGRAPHY A

Gordon, Arthur E., *Album of Dated Latin Inscriptions* (4 vols.) (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1958–1965).

Lund, Allan A., *L. Annaeus Seneca. Apocolocyntosis Divi Claudii. Herausgegeben, übersetzt und kommentiert* (Heidelberg 1994). (See my review in *Latomus* 54 (1995).)

Roncali, R., *L. Annaei Senecae ΑΠΟΚΟΛΟΚΥΝΤΩΣΙΣ* (Teubner) (Leipzig 1990).

The *Gourdification of Claudius the God* has instant and lasting appeal. It is a uniquely surviving specimen of prose-and-verse satire from the Roman world – and satire, a Roman speciality, is one of the few types of ancient literature to survive, and thrive, in modern society. Its author, Seneca, was not only gifted with intellectual virtuosity, but, at the time of writing, was the precarious power behind the throne of the dangerously developing Nero. Claudius, the target of his malicious wit, remains the most controversial of the first twelve imperial Caesars.

The English version facing the text makes the work available to the general reader who may not have any Latin. The text, which is based on a critical examination of all the manuscripts, will be indispensable to scholars. The commentary, which is the first on this scale to have been written in English, is primarily addressed to university and other students.

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

ISBN 0-521-28836-3



9 780521 288361